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Applied Linguistics & Contemporary Approaches in Second Language Acquisition

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A R T I C L E I N F O

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A B S T R A C T

The objective and ambition to achieve excellence in communication skills is still an uphill task for students who come from a native language-speaking background. Advanced-level studies at the university level demand a lot of motivation, concentration, and hard work. Teaching English as a second language in India needs to follow the new contemporary research ideas and improve their level of teaching English to the latest methods. Cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics point to the central facts that motivation, attitude, less anxiety or stress, and more creativity and usage-based tasks, specifically communicative tasks are the core elements to send the message across to students to learn the language effectively and with curiosity. The students have to give up their inhibitions and speak the language, first in the classroom and then acquire excellence to consult and communicate in their workspace. How can the shift to teaching English for Specific Purpose bring about the changes we need and meet the challenges that confront an English teacher? What language theories will fit into this to help students be motivated and determined to learn English enthusiastically and not just as a subject to obtain a good grade? This paper discusses the challenges faced by paramedical students at their graduate degree level and their professors and finds appropriate ways to meet these challenges.

1. Introduction

In this cyber, digital, technological and highly advanced medical technology and advancements, English has become the ‘lingua franca’ of the world. It is the native language of many nations; the second language of many nations and the lingua franca of the business world and the academia. Nations like India started using English as a second language for certain specific purposes. Indian education is grounded in English since colonial times. The medium of instruction in higher and advanced education is completely in English. As the world advanced in science, industry, medical advancement and technology, the English language became the international language for international communication. The need for excellence in English language communication has long become the need of the hour for Indian students in the field of higher education.

The students who start their graduate degree education come from various backgrounds. There are students who are fluent in the second language; students who have studied in English medium schools but lack communication skills; and students who come from small towns and villages where their education was completely done in their native language. The challenges that the students and the English professor face are myriad, varied, and thought-provoking, and worthy of attention not only to the student and the professor but also to the government and the nation. The graduates and postgraduates need good jobs and to succeed in getting one, their communication skills in English must be good. The professional students need it as they must deal with international, national, and domestic clients.
This article aims to deal with the relevant and related challenges that English professors face when they teach a variety of students who come from different walks of life. Challenges are wide-ranging as the requirements of the students differ according to their specialization. The paramedical students who come to specialize in diverse essential courses that greatly support the medical profession need an English for Specific Purpose course to equip them within a short time. They must master the specific language or jargon of their field in English and cultivate communication skills to communicate efficiently with patients who come from all walks of life and from different environments, locales, and nationalities.
Linguistics and language have advanced greatly and the science of language has various branches in Applied Linguistics. These advancements have pointed out the significant facts that have to be taken into consideration for the teaching and learning of a second language. Social, cognitive and psycholinguistics have significantly contributed ways and methods to enhance, modify, and refine the pedagogical elements of teaching English as a second language. The emergence of ESP in ELT coupled with the modern and relevant applied linguistic factors gives us more innovative ways to make the practical aspect of language learning effective, real, and successful. Using the various aspects of cognitive and, psycholinguistics as background approaches, and the theory of constructivism this article aims to show how teachers and students can benefit from an ESP to achieve their objectives. When the learners' knowledge expands it is their own life that improves; their style and their life is an experience they develop. Consequently, the teaching and learning process must be related to the practical real world so that the classroom is designed and shaped in such a way that teacher and students can share their knowledge and experience actively.

2. Literature Review

Vygotsky's article, "Interaction between learning and development. Readings on the development of children" is considered the basis for Constructivism as a theory for teaching and learning. Constructivist Methods in Teaching English as a Second Language an online article by Arzu Gul reveals how constructivism will help the students in a constructivist classroom. Students ultimately learn how to use the language productively outside the classroom. Constructivism teaches students how to use the language in the correct context. Learning is a social activity - it is something we do together, in interaction with each other, rather than an abstract concept, says Dewey in his book, Experience and Education, published in 1938. Peter C. Honebein in his chapter "Seven goals for the design of constructivist learning environments. Constructivist learning environments" in the book, Constructivist Learning Environments: Case Studies in Industrial Design edited by Brent G Wilson, David N Perkins lucidly summarizes the seven pedagogical goals of constructivist learning environments.

Brooks and Brooks, in their article, “In Search of Understanding: The Case for Constructivist Classrooms,” written and published in 1993 list twelve effective descriptors of constructivist teaching behaviors. Jerome Bruner published The Process of Education, which is an important book for teachers and researchers in linguistics and teaching English as a second language or even as an international language. He has presented the principal line of reasoning that students are active learners in the education process, and that they construct their own knowledge as they grow rather than basically or merely just being taught knowledge by teachers and professors. He also established the concept of discovery learning, or the constructivist approach, to explain a student’s active component in the learning process. Sjoberg, Svein’s chapter, “Constructivism and Learning.” The book, International Encyclopaedia of Education is an interesting and thought-provoking chapter that delves deep into the origin of the term, constructivism. Katherine C. Powell in her article, “Cognitive and Social Constructivism: Developing Tools for an Effective Classroom” gives us a detailed view of individual and social constructivism and how they are both integral in the effective teaching of communication skills. Articles from well-known and established journals have also been read and quoted in this paper.
Bada and Okan, for instance, argued that those teachers who exert effort to analyze their students’ needs to unfold their capabilities, potentials, and preferences are among successful instructors with effective language teaching styles (19). Communication, by definition, requires the integration of the main language skills; in integrated-skill instruction, learners are exposed to authentic language and are involved in activities that are meaningful and interesting, this stresses the adoption of content-based and task-oriented instruction (Shen, 2003). Nunan (1989) believes skills integration to be an important feature of language learning, which appeals to interaction, task continuity, real-world focus, language and learning focus, and task outcomes. (Schurr et al., 1995) established that the language use is holistic in the real world, this demands from the LT to provide learners with an environment where they can immerse in reading, writing, speaking, and listening.

3. Cognitive Linguistics

The cognitive theory of language acquisition is grounded on the characteristic that a child develops language as he develops intellect. The integral part of the theory focuses on the distinctive aspects of the brain that allow children to formulate verbal processes. Socioculturalism is the idea that the interactions that a child has with his environment lead to the development of language. Children relate to the environment, and they develop a series of hypotheses that they then implement into their verbal speech (Berko 1958). Cognitive linguists view “language as an integral part of human cognition” (Langacker 1987 p.12). Cognitive linguists believe that knowledge of language develops from language use. Recent research reveals that frequency of use plays an important role in determining cognitive structures (Bybee 2008: p. 208). The usage-based view of cognitive linguistics works as a theoretical framework and unites traditional and modern SLA research. ESP is the result of applying cognitive theory in SLA, as Cognitive methodology offers a fundamentally different perspective to the traditional view, and it is more humanistic, and holistic by virtue of studying language as an integrated aspect of human cognition. The Communicative Approach developed by Hymes, which was later used by Canale and Swain in reinterpreting second language teaching is the forerunner of cognitive linguistics. Another offshoot of the Communicative Approach has been the development of English for Specific Purposes in the work of Swales.

4. Psycholinguistic Theory

Psycholinguistics is the amalgamation of psychology and linguistics. It is the study of the mind and language. It can be applied in the aspects of language perception, language production, and language acquisition. This article is concerned with language acquisition and how it can be enhanced using this theory. Language acquisition signifies the process of acquiring a native or second language. Learning a language is considered the cognitive process happening within the individual and then moves to the social factor. In relation to language teaching, psycholinguistics plays an important role in formulating effective ways of teaching. The celebrated linguist, Zoltan Dorynei says:

In many ways, psycholinguists and cognitive linguists have been pursuing similar goals, namely, to expound the psychological reality and the cognitive mechanisms underlying language structure and use (20).

As a language teacher, language trainer, and renowned researcher, Zoltan Dornyei came out with the Principled Communicative Approach. His work is based on applied linguistics and psycholinguistics. His comprehensive and exhaustive research in these two significant fields has resulted in the seven broad principles and they are each based on scientific considerations. It can be summarized that the Principled Communicative Approach is the integration of meaningful communication with relevant declarative input and the automatization of both linguistic rules and lexical items. His seven principles are given to guide teachers and professors on how to construct their course in a meaningful and practical way to enhance SLA. Dornyei's research article along with Kata Csizer, published in the journal, Language Teaching Research, "Ten Commandments for Motivating Language Learners/ Results of an Empirical Study" gives us a detailed picture of this approach. Later, he published a book, The Principled Communicative Approach: Seven Criteria for Success, along with J. Arnold and C. Pugliese. It offers a new and creative outlook on communicative language teaching, based on cutting-edge research in psychology and linguistics.

Communicative excellence is predominantly the goal of teaching English at a higher level. Comprehension and production are two modalities that do not develop at the same rate. The three main characteristics that psycholinguists highlight is the interrelationship between motivation, attitude, and anxiety levels of language learning. Motivation and Second Language Acquisition, edited by Zoltan Dorynei and Richard Schmidt provides a rich tapestry of topics such as:

…motivation and learning strategy; motivational self-regulation and the role of learner autonomy; teacher motivation and its impact on student motivation; task motivation; the role of cognitive attributions; learning as mental foraging; and the willingness to communicate (ix).

Learning activities, instructional materials, and even individual tasks can motivate students (Dornyei 1994; Ellis 1985; Julkunen 1989). Teaching and learning can be experienced either as motivating or demotivating, says Kyosti Julknen in his chapter, "Situation- and Task-Specific Motivation in Foreign Language Learning" in the above-mentioned book (29). These linguists highlight the fact that task-based activities in a second language learning course have a motivational structure. They can be memory tasks, procedural or routine tasks, and comprehension or understanding tasks. In comprehension or understanding tasks, the students are expected to recognize transformed versions of previously encountered information and apply procedures to new problems or draw inferences from previously encountered information or procedures. In opinion tasks, students have to express preferences for something. Julknen goes on to refer to Mcgarth who has classified the tasks into four major categories:

- Generate: planning tasks and creative tasks (e.g., brainstorming)
- Choose: intellective tasks (solving problems that have a correct answer) and decision-making tasks (arriving at a consensus is required)
- Negotiate: cognitive conflict tasks (viewpoints conflict is to be solved) and mixed motive tasks (negotiations/bargaining/coalition forming)
- Execute contests/battles/competitive tasks and performance/psychomotor tasks (35).

Nation divides the tasks into four major categories: experience, shared, guided, and independent tasks. His classification is related to the social participation task structure. The main objective of the course provider or teacher is to select tasks that promote language learning for students. Tasks make the students use their potential to operate at the outer limits of their current abilities, says Julkunen (36).

5. Constructivist Theory of Teaching and Learning English Language

Constructivist thinking is based on several aspects of Piaget and Vygotsky's cognitive theories. Literature on this subject often refers to individual and cognitive constructivism with reference to Jean Piaget, and social constructivism with reference to Lev Vygotsky. This literature often talks about aspects that characterize constructivist classrooms, constructivist teachers, constructivist curricula, and constructivist assessment. Many of the core ideas of constructivism are very old, it can be seen that it has its roots in a historical account based on the influence of the Swiss psychologist and epistemologist Jean Piaget (1896 – 1980). From Piaget, we understand how to learn actively, create schemes, assimilate and accommodate all forms of science, etc., and develop our language skills. From Vygotsky, we get social constructivism, group work, and internships.

Piaget and Vogotsky's theory are reinforced by Bruner's cognitive theory which shows us that learning is an active process in which learners build new ideas or concepts based on their existing and past knowledge. Based on the interactive context of language use in childhood, and the role of parents' input and behaviour of scaffolding in the acquisition of linguistic forms, Jerome Bruner developed the constructivist approach of learning a language. The constructivism idea that was developed by Bruner illustrates that constructivism involves interpersonal, inter-subjective, collaborative processes to create a shared meaning and learning a language effectively. It is an innovative approach, and it is definitely more student-centered than teacher-centered. This approach offers flexibility, motivation, modification, creativity and versatility for the teacher and the students. It encourages students to learn through personal experiences along with others' help and suitable learning material (Grabe & Grabe, 1998).

Jerome Bruner in 1915 developed constructivism with an interactionist approach to language development that explored themes such as acquisition of communicative ideas and the development of their language expressions. The significant aspects of constructivist learning are:

- prioritizing real learning in the relevant context,
- giving priority to the process,
- inculcating learning in the context of social experience,
- learning is done in order to construct experience.

5.1. Principles of Constructivist Approach in Higher Level Language Learning

- Constructivism in language teaching is based on action-oriented and cooperative learning, creative classroom work, and project completion.
- Student autonomy is more concerned with constructivism.

- Awareness of learning, language awareness, and intercultural awareness is very important in the class of constructivism.
- In language classes, holistic language experiences that depend on content-oriented, authentic, and complex learning environments are the soul of this theory
- In constructing their new knowledge by correlating it with their previous experiences.
- Creative and active participation in classroom activities,
- Learning by preparing various projects
- Learning by teaching is also highly treated in this approach.

Specifically, in language classrooms, comprehensive language understanding depends on authentic, content-based, task-based, and multifaceted learning environments is the essence of the constructivist approach. There are not any lectures, no demonstrations, and no displays. From the start, students have interaction in activities through which they develop skills and acquire ideas (Bhattacharjee, 2015).

The epistemology theory of Jean Piaget is among the leading constructivist theories. According to Piaget, when people interact with new knowledge, it becomes part of already existing knowledge, called schema. The learners construct knowledge from here. The schema of every individual is different from every other individual because the experiences of every individual are different (Hmelo-Silver et al, 2007; Jonassen, 1991; Mayer, 2004).

Constructivist teaching and learning theory emphasizes the culturally and socially rooted knowledge of learners (Fernando & Marikar, 2017). According to von Glasersfeld (1989), constructivism has two principles. Firstly, receiving knowledge is not a passive activity; rather learners are actively involved in it. Secondly, cognition has adaptive functions and operates to organize the experiential world. He goes on to say that teachers should consider the point that learners are active participants in the teaching/learning environment. Therefore, professors who teach communication skills and vocabulary to paramedical students must base their teaching on this valid approach.

5.2. Challenges of Teaching English for Paramedical Graduate Students

Over 80 percent of international organizations in the field of international relations make official use of English (Mackay, 2002:17). In Asia and the Pacific some 90% of organizations use only English for their official proceedings. Nehru has said that English is our major window of the world. These facts indicate the importance of learning effective communication skills in English for degree students to climb up the ladder of success. Teaching communication skills to students is quite a Herculean task for teachers, facilitators, and professors who teach English as a second language or English as a Specific Course to higher-level students. The challenges have to be acknowledged and innovative, and easily adaptable pedagogical methods have to be introduced in teaching English.

"English is not a subject which can be taught; it is a subject which must be learned." (Michel West). F. G. French makes an interesting comment that no language ancient and modern can be compared with English in the number of its speakers, writers, and readers all over the world. Students must learn the language and master communication skills to survive in the competitive job field.

There are significant factors that are great hurdles for teachers in teaching English. The foremost reason is the variety in the educational population. There are social, institutional, and personal obstacles among the students that hinder the effective delivery of the subject to the students and

the assimilation of the subject by the students. There is a high cultural and linguistic diversity among the students. This is common in India, as the students who enter the portals of higher education come from various backgrounds. There are students who are from a rural, urban or city environment and educational background. The learners' negative attitude toward English as a second language poses a greater barrier to effective teaching. This negative attitude emanates from the fact that learners have limited competence in the language, therefore preventing them from actively participating in classroom activities.

It is very well-defined that the teachers' beliefs play a crucial position in affecting the students. It is also important to study the effects of the kinds of thinking and decision-making that the teachers use during their classroom practices (Moon, 2000; Richards, 1998; Richards & Lockhart, 1996; Smith, 1996; Trappes-Lomax & McGrath, 1999). The teachers have to understand the opinions, attitudes, preferences, and perceptions that the students have towards the subject These factors influence the motivation of the students. The teachers must harmonize the students' needs, curriculum obligations, and their own theories of what is the best pedagogical practice to adopt. Teachers have also described tensions that both students and teachers have between the need to achieve socially-oriented and subject-centered goals, such as passing examinations and developing communicative competence. The most important question that challenges the teacher is: Do I teach the book or educate the person? There is a vast difference between these two phrases.

This paper is only highlighting the challenges of the teachers and how to improve their pedagogical methods. Motivation plays an important role in developing the students' eagerness to master the language and the communicative skills.

6. Motivation for Learning Communication Skills in English

Motivation has been widely accepted by both teachers and researchers as one of the key factors that influence the rate and success of language teaching and learning. Motivation provides the primary impetus to initiate learning English and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process. Parsons, Hinson, and Brown (2001) have defined motivation as an important component or factor in the learning process. Learning and motivation have the same importance in order to achieve something. Learning helps students gain new knowledge and skills, and motivation pushes them or encourages them to go through the learning process. Gardner (1983), in his socio-educational model, considered that motivation is perceived to be composed of three elements such as effort, desire, and effect. Students have short-term goals like passing the English subject and long-term goals like mastering their communication skills.

Students can be demotivated if the classroom environment is not conducive. It can be overcrowded or not properly ventilated or even not creatively designed to promote learning. The method of teaching can also decrease the motivation of the students, particularly if there is no reward and it is not interesting to learn the language. The teacher plays a vital role in motivating the students. Finally, if the success is missing the students can become less motivated. Success depends on the level of challenge designed by the teachers. If the level of challenge is low, the motivation to learn becomes less. If the level of challenge is too high the motivation level becomes low. Anxiety, tiredness, and boredom can also demotivate students. Based on these challenges, it is necessary to build a challenging curriculum and adopt an appropriate approach to teaching the students and keep up the motivation of the students to develop their communication skills and master the language.

7. Practical Pedagogical Approach to Face the Challenges

As the constructive mode or approach is mostly based on tasks and assignments to involve student participation at a higher level, task-based language learning is used in an effective way to help students improve their integrated language competence, especially the four basic language skills. This pedagogical method places emphasis on learning to communicate through purposeful interaction in the target language and provides the space for learners to experiment with and explore both spoken and written language. This helps the learners learn in an authentic, practical, and functional method and for a meaningful purpose. The use of tasks will also give a clear and purposeful context for teaching and learning syntax and semantics. This involves the following steps:

7.1 Engage the Students

In this phase, students are engaged by asking a question, defining a problem, and showing a surprising event. The teacher will create interest, generate curiosity, raise questions, and encourage the students to respond. The students try to solve their problems by listening, reading books, searching other sources of knowledge such as the internet, interacting with each other, and writing. Motivation plays a vital role in these task-based activities.
Students' motivation has been extensively considered as an important factor that affects the rate and success of English language learning (Ellis, 1994). McDonough (1983) also confirms that the "motivation of the students is one of the most important factors influencing their success or failure in learning the language". Motivation is seen as a prerequisite and a necessary element for student engagement in learning. Student engagement in learning is not only an end in itself, but it is also a means to the end of students achieving sound academic outcomes (Ryan & Deci, 2009).

7.2. Explore the Ideas

Students have the great advantage of creating their own ideas, planning, investigating, and organizing collected information, and recording observations and ideas. They work together in teams. The teacher is a facilitator he/she will observe, and listen to students as they interact, encourage them to work together, and ask probing questions to redirect the students" investigation when necessary. As they work together in teams, students will build a base of common experience which assists them in the process of sharing and communicating in English.

7.3. Evaluate the Activities

The teacher must evaluate the activities, tasks, or projects of the students to determine if the learner has attained the necessary level of communication skills language concepts grammar, and vocabulary. Evaluation is a continuous process and can occur at all points along the continuum of the instructional process. The teacher may evaluate the learners" achievement by asking open-ended questions, observation structured by checklists, and student interviews. Concrete evidence of the learning is most valuable in communication between students, and teachers.

8. Practical Methods of Constructivism for Paramedical Students

It is a collaborative learning environment. Teaching methods by selecting such activities as one-on-one conversation, taking up language games, and pronunciation practices are some of the most preferred ones, and I think that those methods are superior to the out-of-date activities, such as translation and grammar exercises as the least preferred ones.
Concerning the developments in language teaching, Steven pointed to two principles being drawn on the learners' specific needs and an attempt to increase their communicative ability to function in authentic discourse situations (5). Falout et al. for instance, indicated that traditional grammar-centered activities were mostly disliked by students (10). In the same vein, Sullivan revealed that students welcome chances to communicate and interact with their classmates and their English language teachers (11). Quinn believed that a deeper concentration on learners' error correction helps them vividly notice their weaknesses (34)
Introducing the new graduate students to English communication skills needs a lot of innovative and interesting activities. The students need to practice this skill in the classroom. At the same time, it must be refreshing and keep the students attentive and also participate with eagerness and motivation; Instead of using the usual ice breakers, we tried some new methods of short conversations based on the students knowing about each other and also some short conversations based on their subject. Given below are two short communication exercises that were done as introductory tasks, in the class and received much appreciation as the students were able to understand that their classes will have more interactive sessions, besides giving them the confidence to come out and speak the language in the classroom.

8.1. Activity One: Primary Icebreakers – Syntactic Priming Tasks

In order to motivate the students to participate in the classroom enthusiastically and to reduce their anxiety levels, the teacher can begin with stimulating tasks like picture description. In a higher level, the teacher can show a picture and give a description in a few clear sentences. The students have to listen attentively and use the correct sentences to describe the picture correctly. This involves both comprehending and producing complete sentences.

For **syntactic priming task**s, the teacher can show a picture and give one sentence either in active or passive voice and the students have to produce similar sentences. The students should have the ability to analyze the sentences at all levels of presentation – morphological, syntactic, and semantic – and extract the meaning and use the system to describe a new picture formed in the mind (Marinis & Cunnings 9-11). For example:

The teacher says, “The fish has been caught by the eagle.” The student has to understand that the sentence has been constructed in a passive voice. If he or she does not have that in their memory, they may say that: “The tiger caught a deer.” This is an active voice sentence. The mobile, a tab or a laptop and the internet can be used for such an activity. A series of pictures can be used for graduate-level students. This task helps the teacher to gauge the abilities of the students and also encourage their comprehension and production abilities and gain confidence, get motivation, and reduce anxiety. It helps in successful language learning, and motivating the students to participate and learn.

8.2. Activity Two: Discussing Your Favourite Recipe/ Food/ Dish

Vocabulary to be used: restaurant, favorite dishes, balanced diet, healthy options, prevention is better than cure, proteins, vegetables, good food habits, steamed (this is a beginner level for the first-year students that can be used as ice-breakers)

A: What do you often like to order in a restaurant?

B: I always like to order butter masala dosa, with lots of coconut chutney and idli, poddi with oil.

A: Do you think that it is healthy food?

B: I like it very much, especially with a lot of butter in it, as it is very tasty. Do you think it is not a healthy option/ food item? I am young and active. Why do you say that it is not healthy?

A: Yes. Too much oil and butter are not good for our health and so is too much of coconut. We must be careful so that we do not put on a lot of weight, even though we are young. We must cultivate good food habits and always eat healthy balanced meals.

B: So, what are the other good options for eating healthy meals in a restaurant?

A: There are various options like chappatis and a well-mixed vegetable sabzi, or even idli and sambar. I think idli and chutney is a healthier option/choice. It has less oil or butter., as idli is steamed. Sambar is also healthy, as it has proteins and vegetables in it. It is better to avoid fried items like pooris, potato fries, etc.

B: So, you are advising us to be careful and eat good food to stay healthy and happy. Thank you.

8.3. Activity Three: Discuss the Spread of the Virus Using Basic Medical Terms

Vocabulary to be used: Virus, cold, cough, breathing difficulty, Coronavirus, COVID-19, sneeze, flu-like symptoms, ill, incubation period, immune system, need to be concerned about, infected, sore throat, play a role in, mortality rate, etc.

VJ: Hello my friend. I am very afraid. I hear that there is a new virus among us. Can you please tell me some basic things about this new sickness?
DJ: Sure. We don't have to be afraid of it. But we must not be careless; It is a virus that spreads it. The early symptoms are sore throat, cold, cough, and sneezing. People generally do not get aid thinking that it is a common flu. But, it is a new coronavirus and so it is called COVID-19, and we must take a test and make sure if it is common flu or COVID-19.
VJ: Hmm, yes even I thought the same but, when I hear people saying that it causes difficulty in breathing, severe coughing, and that we need a good immune system to resist the virus attack, I panic.
DJ: Yes, there is a threat all over the world that the virus is a new strain of Coronavirus and it causes severe illness if it is not treated very early. An individual needs a good immune system to fight the virus, if not it would lead to serious effects.
VJ: Certainly, the WHO (World Health Organization) has cautioned/advised all the nations that people should be very careful; maintain social distancing use a mask when they go outside; and also wash their hands regularly and use a good sanitizer. It can spread very easily by contact. The incubation period is like 5 to 6 days of contact. We have to be extremely careful.
DJ: By the way, I read that scientists are trying to find good vaccines for this coronavirus, in the newspaper. Can you tell me something about it?
VJ: Yes. Many pharmaceutical companies are trying to produce a suitable vaccine for this viral attack. It will be given to all the people in every country by the government after it is approved by the government and medical authorities.
DJ: That's really very good news; When will we get this new vaccine? I go out a lot due to my business. I need to be protected.
VJ: We hope that it will be available soon. This will reduce the mortality rate.

When students are given such communication activities, with the main aim to enhance their oral communication skills it has been noticed that it has stimulated even the introverts to take their role seriously and with much interest and take a lot of effort to team up with their friends and do the activities well. Task-based activities like mini projects, role plays, discussing their subject-related topics, etc. give them a chance to team up with various groups with mixed abilities and the student involvement is higher and the targeted results are also excellent. When the professor gives the students suitable activities focusing on learner-centeredness, they definitely help learners who are hesitant to speak also actively engage in these activities and not only benefit from them but also enjoy their language classes. This also stands to prove that social constructivism is a very productive method of teaching as described by Katherine C. Powell in her article, "Cognitive and Social Constructivism: Developing Tools for an Effective Classroom" that:

Social constructivism is a highly effective method of teaching that all students can benefit from since collaboration and social interaction are incorporated. This type of constructivism was formed after Piaget had already described his theories involving individual or cognitive constructivism. Lev Vygotsky, the founding father of social constructivism believed in social interaction and that it was an integral part of learning. Social constructivism is based on the social interactions of a student in the classroom along with a personal critical thinking process (243).

The realization of the integration of these skills is increasing. During the last ten years, there has been a general shift in SL education away from teaching language in isolation toward integrating language and content instruction (Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Jing, 2006). Real success in English teaching and learning is achieved when the learners can actually communicate in English inside and outside the classroom (Davies & Pearse, 2000; Jing, 2006).

9. Conclusion

Concerted efforts by educators, local and central administrators, academics, local communities, and lawmakers are necessary to bring about radical changes in the pedagogical approach to teaching English at an advanced level. The findings of the study have revealed that: There is a scarcity of development programmes, low student motivation, and also high attitude towards language learning, overuse of specific teaching methods, unequal affordability of technology and its resources, and scarcity of language laboratories, also the unadaptable nature of the teacher/s. These are the major obstacles to teaching English in Indian higher educational institutions.
Repetitive practice, mechanical drills, and memorization are the hallmarks of the traditional methods. Innovative methods help in bringing change and most of the time for the better. It helps the students learn faster and in an efficient, interesting, and interactive manner and it is the teacher's responsibility to leave the traditional methods and adopt innovative strategies such as task-based learning, smart classroom, interdisciplinary approach, and flipped classroom. Constructivism is such approach that engages the learners in such a way that they construct their new knowledge by correlating it with their previous experiences (Vitthal,2015). Therefore, the constructivist approach has become an indispensable tool in English language classrooms to find the best ways for both students to learn effectively and teachers to teach efficiently. If graduate and post-graduate students need to master all the components of communicative competence namely, grammatical, discourse, functional, sociolinguistic, and strategic, the constructivist approach will definitely both the teacher and the student an edge over the other methods of teaching English.

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SEMANTICS OF COORDINATE COMPOUNDS ON KUMAONI

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This paper endeavours to explicate and deliberate upon the intricacies pertaining to the semantic roles exhibited by coordinate compounds in Kumaoni. Coordinate compounds, also known as *dvandva*, exemplify a distinctive type of compound that showcases a coordinative association between two constituent elements. This association is characterised by the equitable specification of attributes pertaining to both elements within the compound. First and foremost, I shall commence by conducting a concise analysis of the coordinate compounds consisting of a [Noun Noun], [Adverb Adverb], [Adjective Adjective], and [Verb Verb]. Furthermore, this article delves into the comprehensive examination of the diverse semantic roles that constituents undertake in the process of constructing coordinate compounds. These semantic roles are addition, multi-function, polar, emphasis, hybrid, asynchrony, scalar, and synchronous. The process of forming coordinate compounds in Kumaoni is not merely the act of placing two constituents from the same word class side by side. The constituents come together in a coherent manner to refer to a singular individual, a concept, or an inanimate entity.

1. Introduction

Kumaoni is classified as a member of the central Pahari language family of the Indic branch and is primarily spoken within the Kumaon administrative division of Uttarakhand. Grierson employed the term ‘language’ to refer to Kumaoni and Garhwali, while designating their variations as ‘dialects.’ According to the account provided (1928, p. 10), Grierson proposed a categorization of the Pahari language family into three discrete sub-family groups. The three major divisions of the Pahari language group are commonly known as Eastern Pahari, Central Pahari, and Western Pahari. Based on the classification, it can be observed that Central Pahari and Western Pahari exhibit a close linguistic relationship, whereas Eastern Pahari demonstrates greater affinity with the Dardic language family. In accordance with Grierson's assertions, it can be reiterated that the Central Pahari language exhibits notable influences from both Gurjar and Rajasthani linguistic traditions. Chatterji (1926) additionally proposed that the presence of Paisachi and Dardic influences can be observed in Central Kumaoni, which he classified as ‘Pahārī speeches.’

According to Bisht, the classification of Kumaoni dialects can be divided into two main categories: Eastern Kumaoni and Western Kumaoni. Eastern Kumaoni encompasses four distinct

dialects, namely Kumaiyya, Soryali, Sirali, and Askoti. Western Kumaoni encompasses various dialects, namely Khasparjiya, Chaugarkhiya, Gangoli, Danpuriya, Pachchai, and Rau Chaubansi. As per the Uttarakhand Official Language Act of 2009[1], Hindi has been officially designated as the language to be used for all administrative and official purposes. Based on the census data from 2011, Kumaoni is categorised as a dialect belonging to the Hindi language. Out of the overall population of 4,228,998 individuals residing in the Kumaon region, a total of 2,011,286 people identify Kumaoni as their first language.

This article delves into the intricate functions of semantic roles pertaining to coordinate compound structures in the Kumaoni language. The paper is structured into the following sections. In Section 1, a concise overview of the linguistic background of Kumaoni is provided. In Section 2, I shall delve into the intricacies of compounding, examining the various phenomena associated with this linguistic process. Additionally, I will explore the theoretical foundations that have significantly enriched the existing body of literature on compound formation. In Section 3, I delve into the classification of coordinate compounds based on word class. These compounds are denoted as [Adverb Adverb], [Noun Noun], [Adjective Adjective], and [Verb Verb] coordinate compounds. The discussion in the same section pertains to the argument structures that are presented by the verb elements in coordinate compounds of the [Verb Verb] variety. In the fourth section, I present and examine several distinct semantic subtypes and functions that are fulfilled by Kumaoni coordinate compounds. The elucidation of the interplay between compound elements is facilitated by a set of roles that prove to be instrumental in this endeavour. Section 5 delves into a comprehensive examination of the intricate interplay between symmetry and asymmetry within the context of the semantic grounding of constituents in Kumaoni coordinate compounds.

2. Theoretical background

Compounding is commonly understood as a process of forming a new lexeme with the help of two or more lexemes (Bauer, 2003). The notion of compound formation, thus in a preliminary glance appears to be straightforward – a combination of two free morphemes to form another word. Whether the newly formed word is semantically related to its constituents is another question. Compounding adds to the lexicon of speakers is are *learned as a whole* (Bauer, 2003, p. 135). Compound creation and analyses have undergone massive scrutiny cross-linguistically (Booij, 2002; Iordăchioaia, Alexiadou, & Pairamidis, 2017; Kumar, 2012; Kiparksy, 2009; Lieber, 2005; Moyna, 2011) and across various subdisciplines of linguistics (Bauer & Renouf, 2001; Booij, 2005; Di Sciullo A. M., 2011; Goossens, 1995; Marchand, 1967; Nóbrega & Panagiotidis, 2020; Barcelona, 2008). Huang (2020) states that both the elements of a coordinate compound must have the same semantic footing. Patanjali refers to *dvandvas* or coordinate compounds as *ubhaya-pada-pradhana* (Bhandare, 1995, p. 90). He reiterates the fact that both the components are of equal importance. Katamba (1993, p. 321) presents a contrasting view. He states that the rightmost element is the head from a syntactic view because it takes inflections. From the semantic perspective, both elements have equal status. Coordinate compounds are an exception to the presence of a head much like exocentric compounds. Plag (2018, p. 187) asserts that both the elements are semantic heads, but none of them has more prominence than the other.

[1]

The majority of Kumaoni coordinate compounds exhibit a semantic equilibrium between their constituent elements. The constituents within the Kumaoni language pertain to distinct concepts or entities. There is a lack of a conventional modifier-modified or any other semantic relationship observed between the compounds. Therefore, it can be argued that the determination of the semantic or syntactic head in Kumaoni coordinate compounds is not a straightforward process and is somewhat impractical. The scholars Spencer (1991), Fabb (1998), Olsen (2004), Bauer & Renouf (2001), and Haspelmath (2002) distinguished appositive coordinate compounds from coordinate compounds solely on the basis of the head. The sole distinction between appositive coordinate compounds and coordinate compounds lies in their respective syntactic structures, with the former being exocentric and the latter being endocentric. According to Olsen (2004), the appositive coordinate compounds have been referred to as pseudo-coordinate compounds due to the reduction of dual reference to a single reference. The issue with this bifurcation lies in the fact that exocentricity provides an explanation for the phenomenon of appositive coordinate compounds.

According to Di Sciullo (2005, p. 16), a syntactic perspective is adopted to define coordinate compounds as compounds that are created through the apposition of two constituents, with each constituent contributing equally to the interpretation of the compound. The author restricts the inclusion of coordinate compounds to a limited group of nominal compounds that solely fulfil an appositive function. In the study of Kumaoni language, an examination will be conducted to observe the various semantic roles performed by the constituents that combine to form coordinate compounds. It is important to note that apposition is merely one of these roles. Bisetto and Scalise (2017, p. 54) propose the compound classification that classifies coordinate compounds based on the presence or absence of the head. This classification is satisfactory with the Kumaoni coordinate compounds as Kumaoni is rich in both exocentric and endocentric compounds.

3. An overview of coordinate compounds in Kumaoni

Coordinate compounds are known as *dvandva* in Sanskrit. *Dvandva* in Sanskrit means 'in pair.' If we break down the word, we see that *dvam* + *dva* can be interpreted as 'two [nom./acc.n] + two [stem form].' The earliest usage of the term coordinate can be attested in Vedic Samhitas of Rigveda (Sadovski, 2002). Coordinate compound is a type of compound whose two juxtaposed constituents possess the same rank, semantic contribution, and natural coordination. Traditional literature suggests that it is pertinent that both the constituents belong to the same grammatical category. Kiparksy (2010) notes that coordinate changed their form and usage. In their earliest usage, coordinate comprised two bare stems, and both the elements used individual stress. They were used primarily for deities or human beings and some sacred rituals. When Vedic Sanskrit was formalised into classical Sanskrit, these features were lost, coordinate retained only one stress, and the semantic field was expanded to animals and inanimate objects. In Sanskrit, coordinate compounds are conjoined with a conjunction *ca* 'and.'

Within a coordinate compound, the constituent with a smaller number of syllables takes the leftmost position and becomes the second member of the compound. This is rigorously enforced in Kumaoni coordinate in which both the constituents have same semantic footing.

1 (a) *gaːɽ* 'river' *gadʰyar* 'creek'

	CVC	CVCCVC
(b)	*ɖʰol* ‘two-sided drum’	*damau* ‘one sided drum’
	CV	CVCV

3.2 Word-class based classification of coordinate compounds in Kumaoni

A noteworthy attribute of coordinate compounds is their consistent preservation of grammatical categories within their constituent elements. To provide further elucidation, it can be asserted that the amalgamation of two nouns yields a compound noun, in contrast to other grammatical categories. In a similar manner, it is noteworthy to observe that adjectives possess the ability to solely combine with other adjectives, thereby giving rise to the creation of compound adjectives. In the following section, we will analyse the coordinate compounds that result from the fusion of adverbs.

3.2.1. [Adverb Adverb] coordinate compounds

In this word class category, two adverbs combine to form an adverb coordinate compound. Consider the following examples,

2 (a)	*vaːr* +	‘here’	*paːr* <	‘there’	*vaːr paːr* ‘here and there’
(b)	*por* +	‘last year’	*paraːr* <	‘two years ago’	*por paraːr* ‘a few years ago’

Both the constituents (2a) and (2b) are adverbs. Even the resulting compound is an adverb. There is no clear head in (2a) and (2b), as both elements contribute to meaning generation equally.

3.2.2. [Noun Noun] coordinate compounds

Nouns are one of the most abundantly occurring constituents in Kumaoni coordinates.

3 (a)	*caɽ* ‘bird’ +		*pɪtuɽ* <	‘insect’	*caɽpɪtuɽ* ‘birds and insects’
(b)	*an͡na* +	‘grain’	*ɟalə* <	‘water’	*an͡na ɟalə* ‘food and water’

We see in (3a-b), that two constituents in each compound come together with an asyndeton ‘and’ to form a coordinate in Kumaoni. Both the elements belong to the grammatical category of nouns, and the resultant compound is also a noun.

3.2.3. [Adjective Adjective] coordinates

Adjective coordinates retain their definite qualities, and the formation is also an adjective. Kumaoni lexicon attests quite a few of adjective coordinates.

4 (a) *marɪ* + ‘dead’ *ɟyɔ̃n* < ‘alive’ *marɪ ɟyɔ̃n* ‘dead or alive’

(b) *naːn* + ‘small’ *ʈʰul* < ‘big’ *naːn ʈʰul* ‘small and big’

As can be seen in (4 a-b), the combination of the elements produces a compound that possesses the qualities of an animate or inanimate entity. The combination of two numerals can also produce an adjective that qualifies a period of time or a quantity. The meaning of such compounds is closer to the aggregate of the meanings of the compounds’ constituents than the meaning of the compounds themselves.

As it is seen in (5 a-b), the elements result in a compound that satisfies the quality of an animate or inanimate entity. Two numerals also combine to form an adjective that qualifies a duration or quantity. The meaning of such compounds is more approximate than aggregate of the constituents of the compound.

5 (a) *dvɪ* ‘two’ + *caːr* ‘four’ < *dvɪ caːr* ‘a little amount’

(b) *sau* ‘hundred’ + *pacaːs* ‘fifty’ < *sau pacaːs* ‘more than fifty but less than hundred’

The compound *dvɪ caːr* is used to describe an approximation of a small amount in the context of time or quantity.

(c)	*vɪ-kʰɑn*	***dvɪː cɑːr***	*rupæ̃*	*dɪː*
	He-DAT	two-four	money	give.OPT.SG

Give him some money.

(d)	*ɪɟ*	***dvɪː cɑːr***	*dɪn*	*pacʰɑː*	*ɑː*	*sɑk-æ̃*
	Mother	two-four	day.SG	after	come	able-FUT.3SG.HON

(My) mother may come after a few days.

These two sentences contain coordinates, which are indefinite quantifiers that provide a semantic interpretation of the word ‘approximately.’ These cardinal numerals coordinates, are decipherable by the majority of Kumaoni speakers.

3.2.4. [Verb Verb] coordinate compound

The coordinate compounds are discussed in the context of noun and adjectival combinations in both the traditional grammar of Sanskrit as well as recent theories of compound formation. Only contemporary viewpoints (Shibatani, 1990; Li, 1990; Joseph & Nicholas, 2008; Kiparksy, 2009; Ralli, 2009) citing studies from Japanese, Korean and Greek, consider word formation of the [Verb Verb] combination as coordinate compounds. Kumaoni displays a [Verb Verb] combination that has been given less attention. The verbs that appear in these kinds of combinations are the infinitive form of the verbs.

6 (a) *dãːʈaŋ* + ‘to scold’ *faʈkaːraŋ* ‘to chide’ < *dãːʈaŋ faʈkaːraŋ* ‘to scold badly’

(b) *maːraɳ* ‘to kill’ + *pɪːʈaɳ* ‘to beat’ < *maːraɳ pɪːʈaɳ* ‘to beat’

(c) *samɟʰuːɳ* ‘to explain’ + *buɟuːɳ* ‘to advise’ < *samɟʰuːɳ buɟuːɳ* ‘to counsel’

The constituents in these compounds are in a coordinating relationship. The elements are synonymous in (6 a-c). Thus, there is no causal relationship between the two events *dãːʈaɳ* ‘to scold’ and *faʈkaːraɳ* ‘to scold.’ Both the actions co-occur. *maːraɳ* in Kumaoni has two meanings ‘*to beat*’ and ‘*to kill*.’ In (6b), *maːraɳ* means ‘to beat.’ Hence, it is synonymous with [Verb Verb] coordinate or *samanarthi kriya coordinate* or synonymous verbal coordinate compounds. In the given example below (6d), verbs with related meanings are used. The event of *samɟʰuːɳ* ‘to explain always leads to the event *buɟuːɳ* ‘to convince.’ Therefore, *buɟuːɳ* ‘to convince’ is in a subordinate relationship with its preceding event, i.e., *samɟʰuːɳ* ‘to advise.’

(d) *mɪːnul* *rameʃkʰan* ***samɟu buɟu-ber*** *bʰeɟdɪː*
Minu.F-AG Ramesh.M.SG-INOBJ explain convince-CP send.PST.M.SG
Minu let Ramesh go after advising him.

Consequently, example (6d) demonstrates that following the agent's initiation of an event, she engages in counselling Ramesh by employing two nearly synonymous subevents, specifically explaining and convincing him of a certain matter. The second component of the linguistic structure serves to indicate the inflection related to the number, gender, or person, in addition to the tense, aspect, or mood. In a manner consistent with examples (6 a-c), the elements comprising the coordination of [Verb Verb] in (6d) exhibit a high degree of synonymity.

According to Bagchi (2005, p. 109), the suffix attached to the rightmost constituent is a conjunctive participle, which can be translated in English as **having V-ed** (emphasis added). Due to the absence of a modifier-modified relationship between the constituents, the structure can be classified as double-headed. The semantic foundation of these constituents within the coordinates can be identified through various approaches.

7 *cɪʈ͡ʈʰɪ* ***laː-ber*** ***bãːcɪ*** *de*
letter bring-CP read give.FAM Verb
Bring the letter and read it.

Serialisation is demonstrated in example (7), which describes two separate occurrences without making use of any coordination or subordination. In addition, the initial verb *laː-ber* ‘bring-CP’ has an insertion of a conjunctive participle, which is a violation of the rules for compound construction. On the other hand, the affixation appears on the most rightmost verb in (6 a-c) and (d), which satisfies one of the requirements for compound formation. Therefore, despite the fact that serial verbs and [Verb Verb] coordinates the verbs behave as a single unit for the marking of tense, aspect, and polarity, [Verb Verb] coordinates only take inflection markers on the rightmost constituent of their constituents. Moreover, the constituents of majority of Kumaoni [Verb Verb] coordinates are synonymous or near-synonymous and maintain order fixity. The argument structure of the verbs used in a coordinate compound should be identical.

8	*camkaŋ* 'to glitter' +	*damkaŋ* 'to shine' <	*camkaŋ damkaŋ* 'to glitter and shine'

As a result of the fact that both of the verbs in the example (9a) are intransitive, the two of them can be combined to form a [Verb Verb] compound. In a similar manner, the expressions (9 a-c) and (9d) are examples of coordinates with transitive elements serving as their component parts. As previously demonstrated, the constituents in [Verb Verb] coordinates are frequently synonymous as in (8), and in some cases, the events occur sequentially (9c) in the same pragmatic environment.

9 (a)	*k^{h}elaŋ* 'to play' +		*kuːdaŋ* 'to jump'	<	*k^{h}elaŋ kuːdaŋ* 'to play'
(b)	*kuːŋ* 'to speak'	+	*sunaŋ* 'to listen'	<	*kuːŋ sunaŋ* 'to speak and listen
(c)	*dɪŋ* 'to give'	+	*lɪŋ* 'to take'	<	*dɪŋ lɪŋ* 'to give and take'

10 *taːr* ***camkuŋ damkunyaŋ***
star.PL shine shine-AUX.PL.PRS.CONT
The stars are shining.

As demonstrated in (10) below, the resulting coordinate compound is deemed unsatisfactory when one of the constituents of a coordinate verb compound is transitive, while the other is either intransitive or ditransitive. Moreover, it is imperative that when a sentence includes an adverb, said adverb must modify both verbs within the coordinate structure to ensure grammatical accuracy.

11 *mad^{h}u* *ratte byaːv* ***ruŋ bɪlanæ***
Madhu morning-evenin g cry-bawl.PRS. CONT
Madhu is crying in the morning and the evening.
*Madhu is crying in the morning and bawling in the evening.

Moreover, both the elements of a [Verb Verb] coordinate compound must share the internal argument. They must act as a unified head for the argument they predicate as shown below.

12 *b^{h}agulɪː* *ɔr* *canduː* *myalme* ***gæŋ baɟuŋyaːn***
Bhaguli and Chandu fair-in sing-play.PL.PRS.CONT
Bhaguli and Chandu are singing and playing (instruments) at the fair.
*Bhaguli is singing at the fair, and Chandu is playing (instruments) at the fair.

In summary, it is important for the constituent elements of [Verb Verb] compounds to not only share the same semantic contribution, but also exhibit comparable argumentative structures.

Furthermore, the process of nominalization in Kumaoni allows for the conversion of [Verb Verb] coordinate compounds into nominal forms, similar to the nominalization of simple verbs.

13	**Verb**	**Gloss**	**Nominal form**	**Gloss**
(a)	*hɪʈə*	to walk	*hɪʈæ*	gait
(b)	*maɳmaɳa:ɳ*	to speak slowly	*maɳmaɳa:ʈ*	act of speaking slowly

Similarly, if coordinate compounds consisting of two verbs are nominalized, both components of the compound will undergo the process of nominalization.

	V_1	V_2	**Compound**	**Nominalised form**
14	*ku:ʈaɳ* ‘to crush’ +	*ka:ʈaɳ* ‘to cut’ <	*ku:ʈaɳ ka:ʈaɳ* ‘to crush and cut.’	*ku:ʈka:ʈ’* crushing and cutting.’

15	*masalək*	***kuʈ kɑ:ʈ***	*cɑl-no*
	Spice-GEN	crush-cut	walk-CONT.SG

The spices are undergoing the process of crushing and cutting.

The nominalized from of the coordinate is used in (15) expressing the action of crushing and cutting.

4. Semantics of Kumaoni coordinate compounds

In this section, we will examine the different semantic subtypes that coordinate compounds can take depending on their constituents. In Kumaoni, the criteria that lead to the formation of coordinate compounds are determined by the semantic subtypes of the words involved. The formation of coordinate compounds in Kumaoni is not simply the juxtaposition of two constituents of the same word class; rather, the constituents display specific semantic patterns such as addition, multifunction, and polar, amongst others, and unify coherently to refer to a single individual, a concept, or an inanimate entity. The following sections will discuss each of the nine roles that the constituents of a Kumaoni coordinate contribute in the process of constructing the meaning of a coordinated construction.

4.1 Addition

Some Kumaoni coordinate compounds consist of elements that result in an additive meaning of the compound. In other words, the compound meaning is the summative meaning of its compound. For example, a compound AB is A and B. They are endocentric. Look at the example below.

16 (a) *p*^{h}*al* ‘fruit’ + *p*^{h}*u:l* ‘*flower’* < *p*^{h}*al p*^{h}*u:l* ‘fruits and flowers’
(b) *caɽ* ‘bird’ + *pɪtuɽ* ‘insect’ < *caɽpɪtuɽ* ‘birds and insects’

In (16 a-b), we see the pattern of two entities *pʰal* 'fruit,' *pʰuːl* 'flower' and *caɽ* 'bird,' *pɪtuɽ* 'insect' joined together as they are characteristically relevant in the religious domain.

4.2 Multi-function

The occurrence of the multi-functional role is less prevalent in the Kumaoni coordinate compounds. However, the existence of these compounds necessitates a thorough examination of their occurrence. The components within this role pertain to two distinct attributes that are integrated in a coherent manner to represent a singular referent. These compounds typically refer to a singular entity. Consequently, a compound denoted as AB of this nature signifies an individual who possesses both attributes A and B. The clarity of this description will be evident through the example provided below.

17 (a)	*gvaːv* +	'caretaker'	*gusæ* <	'owner'	*gvaːv gusæ* 'an owner who is also a caretaker (of a property)
(b)	*mɔsɪ* +	'mother's sister'	*naːnɪ* <	'mother's mother'	*mɔsɪ naːnɪ* 'great maternal aunt'

In (17a), the compound *gvaːv gusæ* denotes an individual who is both a caretaker and the owner of a property. What leads to the ordering of constituents in this compound is still a matter of further study. But one may be able to discern from the socio-pragmatic identity that *gvaːv gusæ* is an owner of a property of which he takes care as well. The compound focuses on the actual identity of person by putting the constituent *gusæ* 'owner' on the right side. Spencer (1991, p. 311) labels them as *appositional* compounds.

Similarly, example in (17b) displays a dyadic relationship between two people. But if analysed carefully, this coordinate denotes a person who is a *mɔsɪ* 'aunt' to one individual and *naːnɪ* to their offspring but does not assume both the roles together to one individual. The usage of the term *naːnɪ* by Hindi and urban Kumaoni speakers to denote their maternal grandmother serves as a practical means for the children of these individuals to differentiate their maternal grandmother from her sister, who is commonly referred to as *mɔsɪ naːnɪ*. These recently developed forms of kinship coordination are playing a significant role in fostering the thriving ecosystem of the language. The compound in question belongs to a category of coordinate compounds commonly employed by urban young Kumaoni speakers for the purpose of distinguishing between their maternal grandmother and their maternal aunt. The aforementioned differentiation holds significance when examined through a socio-pragmatic lens. Additional examples of compounds in this category encompass *buaːdadɪː*, denoting a term that can be interpreted as 'great paternal aunt,' and *cacaːnaːnaː*, signifying a phrase that can be translated as 'great paternal uncle.'

4.3 Polar

In this particular sub-type of a coordinate compound, two attributes or entities are positioned alongside one another. A pragmatic reading of an asyndeton 'or' that generates an alternative sense associated with the constituents of the compound is carried over into the final meaning of

the compound. An AB coordinate is either A or B. This formation is very similar to the *vaikalpik dvandva samas* that are found in the description of Hindi coordinate compounds (Guru, 1979).

Look at the given examples.

18 (a)	*yatʰake* ‘here’	+	*utʰke* ‘there’	<	*yatʰake utʰke* ‘here or there’
(b)	*bʰal* ‘good’	+	*nak* ‘bad’	<	*bʰal nak* ‘good or bad’
(c)	*dukʰə* ‘grief’	+	*sukʰə* ‘joy’	<	*dukʰə sukʰə* ‘grief and joy’
(d)	*uʈʰə* ‘get up’	+	*bɛʈʰə* ‘sit’	<	*uʈʰə bɛʈʰə* ‘get up and sit’

The semantics of polarity in Kumaoni have been extensively established across all major word classes, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Example (18a) illustrates a case of a coordinate compound consisting of two adverbs, while (18b) demonstrates a case of a coordinate compound consisting of two adjectives. The compound (18c) represents a specific noun-noun coordination, while (18d) serves as an illustrative instance of a verb-verb coordinate compound.

4.4. Hyponymy

Certain compounds that exhibit coordination also contain constituents that demonstrate hyponymy. Hyponymy denotes the semantic association existing between a category and a specific exemplification of said category. The concept of class inclusion is discussed by Gagné and Spalding (2006). Upon amalgamation, the constituents of the compounds manifest a hierarchical classification that surpasses the constituent compounds in question (specifically, novels, notebooks, and anthologies, all of which fall under the broader category of books, thereby establishing ‘book’ as the superordinate category). AB is a composite category encompassing both A and B, as well as all other co-hyponyms within this classification. When the constituents from the sister node hierarchy are combined with another lexical item, they collectively take on the role of hyponymy. On an individual basis, the constituents lack explicit representation of the superordinate class. However, this situation undergoes a transformation when these constituents are combined to create a compound.

Let us now consider the following examples (19 a-b).

19 (a)	*ɖʰakɪːɳ* ‘coverings’	+	*bɪcʰuːɳ* ‘spreading’	<	*ɖʰakɪːɳ bɪcʰuːɳ* ‘bedding’
(b)	*goru* ‘cow’	+	*baːcʰə* ‘calf’	<	*goru baːcʰə* ‘cattle’

The constituents in (19a), namely *ɖʰakɪːɳ* and *bɪcʰuːɳ*, refer to the sheets utilised for the purpose of covering one's body during sleep and for laying on the bed, respectively. However, when combined as a compound, the entirety of the compound signifies bedding sheets that serve the dual purpose of covering both the bed and a human body. Likewise, within the context of (19b), the individual elements *goru* and *baːcʰə* represent a specific cow and its offspring, respectively. However, when these constituents are conjoined, they collectively encompass the broader concept of cattle as a whole. It is observed that compounds exhibit a reference to the

concept of inclusion, which is fulfilled by both of the constituent elements. It is noteworthy that, in general, the establishment of hyponymy involves positioning the category word (a label denoting the superordinate category) as the rightmost constituent in most compounds. This category word also serves as the head, while the descriptive or determinative element modifies it, indicating a subcategory of the head.

4.5 Emphatic

The primary function of the components, which are predominantly adjectives, is to serve an emphatic purpose. The compound in (20 a-b) consists of two semantically similar constituents that are conjoined in order to convey an emphatic or exaggerated denotative meaning. The purpose of this role is to emphasise the characteristic indicated by the two components.

20 (a)	*gor* +	‘fair’	*pʰanka:r* ‘clear’	<	*gor pʰanka:r* ‘extremely fair and beautiful’
(b)	*ɟog* +	‘meditation’	*dʰya:n* ‘contemplation’	<	*ɟog dʰya:n* ‘great contemplation or introspection’

In each of the aforementioned cases, the elements involved exhibit either complete or partial synonymity. When these elements are conjoined to create a compound, they convey a heightened or intensified signification, as exemplified by the compounds *gor pʰanka:r*, denoting ‘exceedingly fair and beautiful,’ and *ɟog dʰya:n*, signifying ‘profound contemplation or introspection.’

4.6 Hybrid

As implied by its nomenclature, the constituents engaged in a fusional capacity do not actively contribute to the semantic content of the compound. The term AB does not refer exclusively to either A or B, but rather encompasses a combination of elements from both A and B, resulting in a meaning that lies within the intersection of A and B. The terminology ‘hybrid’ used to describe the semantic characteristics of certain compound words is derived from Renner's work (2008). The compound possesses a meaning that is equidistant from both of its components.

21 (a)	*uttar* ‘north’	+	*pu:rab* ‘east’	<	*uttar pu:rab* ‘northeast’
(b)	*harya* ‘green’	+	*nıl* ‘blue’	<	*haryanıl* ‘greenish-blue or cyan’

The compound meaning in (21a) denotes a particular orientation that is precisely located at the midpoint between *uttar*, which signifies 'north', and *pu:rab*, which signifies 'east'. In a comparable manner, the linguistic expression *haryanıl* in example (21b) denotes a chromatic shade that emerges from the amalgamation of the hues *harya* ‘green’ and *nıl* ‘blue.’ It is crucial to recognise that these compounds do not arise from the amalgamation of two concepts or entities; instead, they embody an intermediate entity that exists between the two constituents. Therefore, these compounds can be categorised as exocentric since they do not embody the semantic function carried by their individual constituents, but rather indicate something separate.

The modern Indo-Aryan languages have expanded the scope of the categorical concept of *bahuvrīhi* to include the semantic notion of exocentricity. This enhanced comprehension recognises that compounds are not restricted to adjective-noun combinations, but rather possess a fundamental attribute: the constituent elements do not independently contribute to the semantic content of the compound. Therefore, compounds consisting of elements assuming a hybrid role are commonly known as exocentric coordinate compounds.

4.7 Asynchrony

Asynchrony is a state when events are not in synchronisation. Asynchronous coordinate (Renner, 2008) are those compounds that represent two events that do not happen concurrently. In an AB coordinate, the event A takes place, and after some time, B takes place. Nevertheless, the compound refers to the combined event.

22	*dhveɳ* +	‘wash’	*poc^{h}aɳ* ‘wipe’	<	*dhveɳ poc^{h}aɳ* ‘wash and wipe’

At first glance, the (22) represents an occurrence that encompasses the actions of cleansing and drying. Upon closer examination, it becomes evident that the events under consideration do not exhibit synchronicity or occur in a simultaneous manner. The occurrence of washing, referred to as event A, is observed to occur prior to the occurrence of wiping. Hence, the aforementioned events are not concurrent; rather, the act of washing takes place prior to the act of wiping. Therefore, in an AB compound that assumes an asynchronous function, the event A takes place prior to the occurrence of event B. As evidenced by the provided examples (23a-b), there exists a relationship between event A and event B that is characterised by a notion of sequence rather than simultaneity.

To clarify, event B (*sunuːɳ* ‘to listen,’ *pɪːsaɳ* ‘to grind) occurs subsequent to event A (*kuːɳ* ‘to speak’, *kaːʈaɳ* ‘to cut’).

	Event$_A$		**Event**$_B$		**Event**$_A$ **Event**$_B$
23 (a)	*kuːɳ* +	‘to speak’	*sunuːɳ* ‘to listen’	<	*kuːɳ sunuːɳ* ‘to speak and listen’
(b)	*kaːʈaɳ* +	‘to cut’	*pɪːsaɳ* ‘to grind’	<	*kaːʈaɳ pɪːsaɳ* ‘to cut and grind’

The preservation of Grice's maxim of manner necessitates the maintenance of fixity in the order of constituents, ensuring that an entity undergoes segmentation before it becomes grounded over a temporal duration. A reversal would result in the violation of the logical progression of events.

4.8 Scalar

The scalar role in coordinate compounds was first proposed by Wälchli (2005, p. 152). The two constituent elements of a compound exhibit contrasting characteristics, and the resulting compound signifies a quantitative attribute such as magnitude or dimension.

24 (a)	*naːn* ‘small’ +	*ʈ^{h}ul* ‘big’	<	*naːn ʈ^{h}ul* ‘size.’

Example (24a) can be both endocentric and exocentric. But in this context, we are concerned about the exocentric coordinate that is yielded from the two adjectives. Depending on the context, (24a) denotes people of different age groups and sizes as shown below.

(b)	***naːn ʈʰul,***	*sabʰuː-kʰan*	*nyut*	*chə*
	small-big	Everyone-ACC.3PL	invitation	be.SG.PRS
	Everyone is invited.			

(c)	*bʰalɪke*	*dekʰ*	*pʰɪr*	*ɟan*	*kayaː*
	Correct.with	see	then	do not	say
	kamɪːɟ	***naːnʈʰul***	*hægæ*		
	Shirt	small-big	be.go. PERF.SG		
	Check it correctly; afterwards, do not complain about the size of the shirt.				

In the given illustration (24 b-c), the coordinate *naːn ʈʰul* is employed to reinforce the argument. In example (24b), the term *naːn ʈʰul* refers to individuals belonging to two distinct age categories, namely the youth and the elderly. It encompasses individuals from two distinct age groups and presents a comprehensive concept. On the other hand, in the given example (24c), the term *naːn ʈʰul* is used to represent an abstract scale that signifies the magnitude.

4.9 Synchronous

The elements that fulfil the synchronous function denote an occurrence expressed by two comparable or nearly synonymous verbs in the Kumaoni language. As an illustration, events A and B occur in close temporal proximity within an AB compound. The term 'almost' is employed to denote that the discontinuity is of infinitesimal magnitude. Kumaoni linguistic structures of this nature employ semantically associated verbs to demonstrate synchronicity.

25(a)	*ʈuːʈaɳ* 'to break' +	*pʰuʈaɳ* 'to burst' <	*ʈuːʈaɳ pʰuʈaɳ* 'to break and burst'
(b)	*caːɳ* 'to see' +	*cɪtuːɳ* 'to observe' <	*caːɳ cɪtuːɳ* 'to see properly'

In example 25a, we assume a synchronic or simultaneous description of two events *ʈuːʈaɳ* 'to break' and *pʰuʈaɳ* 'to burst'. They are what Kiparsky calls as *single events* (2009, p. 7). Similarly, in example (25b), as the speaker convenes the activity of *caːɳ* 'to see' and *cɪtuːɳ* 'to examine' simultaneously. One cannot first see something and then observe it.

This following section will examine exocentric coordinate compounds within the framework of three distinct types of asymmetries: reference, rank, and input asymmetries.

5. Symmetry and asymmetry

The exploration of symmetry in the components of coordinates is necessary due to the fundamental principle of semantic grounding. Every coordinate demonstrates either semantic symmetry or semantic asymmetry. Symmetry is commonly regarded as being characterised by coordination. Conversely, the act of subordination on the principal element is regarded as a

prototypical manifestation of asymmetry. In this section, it is posited that asymmetry is a recurring phenomenon in coordinate compounds, albeit with less frequency. In the present discourse, the initial focus shall be directed towards the examination of conceptual symmetry, a salient attribute frequently linked to the phenomenon of coordination. Subsequently, the concept of conceptual asymmetry will be introduced, along with the empirical evidence that substantiates the aforementioned propositions.

5.1 Conceptual Symmetry

The distinguishing characteristic of conventional coordinate compounds in Kumaoni is the presence of semantic roles between the constituent elements. The components are connected through the use of asyndeton, which serves to present a concise and either cumulative or alternative description of these components. The compounds that we incorporate in symmetric coordination encompass additive, antonymous, emphatic, and synchronous roles. The compound exhibits a translational reflection with respect to its constituent elements. In their study, Haiman and Ourn (2000) analyse the co-compounds found in the Khmer language. These co-compounds consist of constituents that either perform a nearly synonymous function or are somehow related to each other. The roles performed by symmetrical compounds, such as near-synonyms, separate related activities, antonyms, and hypernyms, are enumerated. In his analysis of co-compounds, Wälchli (2005) considers compounds that display symmetry to be on equal footing with synonymic and ornamental co-compounds.

The assertion that symmetry and synonymy operate at an equivalent level in a coordinate manner is a flawed interpretation. Symmetry can be comprehended as the presence of resemblances between two or more objects, encompassing a wide range of manifestations. In the field of Geometry, it is widely recognised that symmetrical figures possess an inherent resistance to alterations or modifications. As an illustration, a circle exhibits rotational symmetry as its geometric shape remains unaltered under rotation. Likewise, a butterfly exhibits bilateral symmetry. When a vertical line is drawn through the centre, the two resulting sides exhibit mirror symmetry. The field of linguistics examines the concept of symmetry within various syntactic phenomena, such as transformations, movement, and merge, among others. I aim to examine the concept of symmetry in coordinate systems from a semantic perspective. The Kumaoni language exhibits four forms of symmetry in nominal and adjectival coordination.

a) Synonyms or nearly synonymous terms that engage in coordinate construction demonstrate symmetry in order to convey emphasis.

b) The presence of two distinct lexical items that function as a coordinate and collectively convey a cumulative meaning represents an additional example of symmetry.

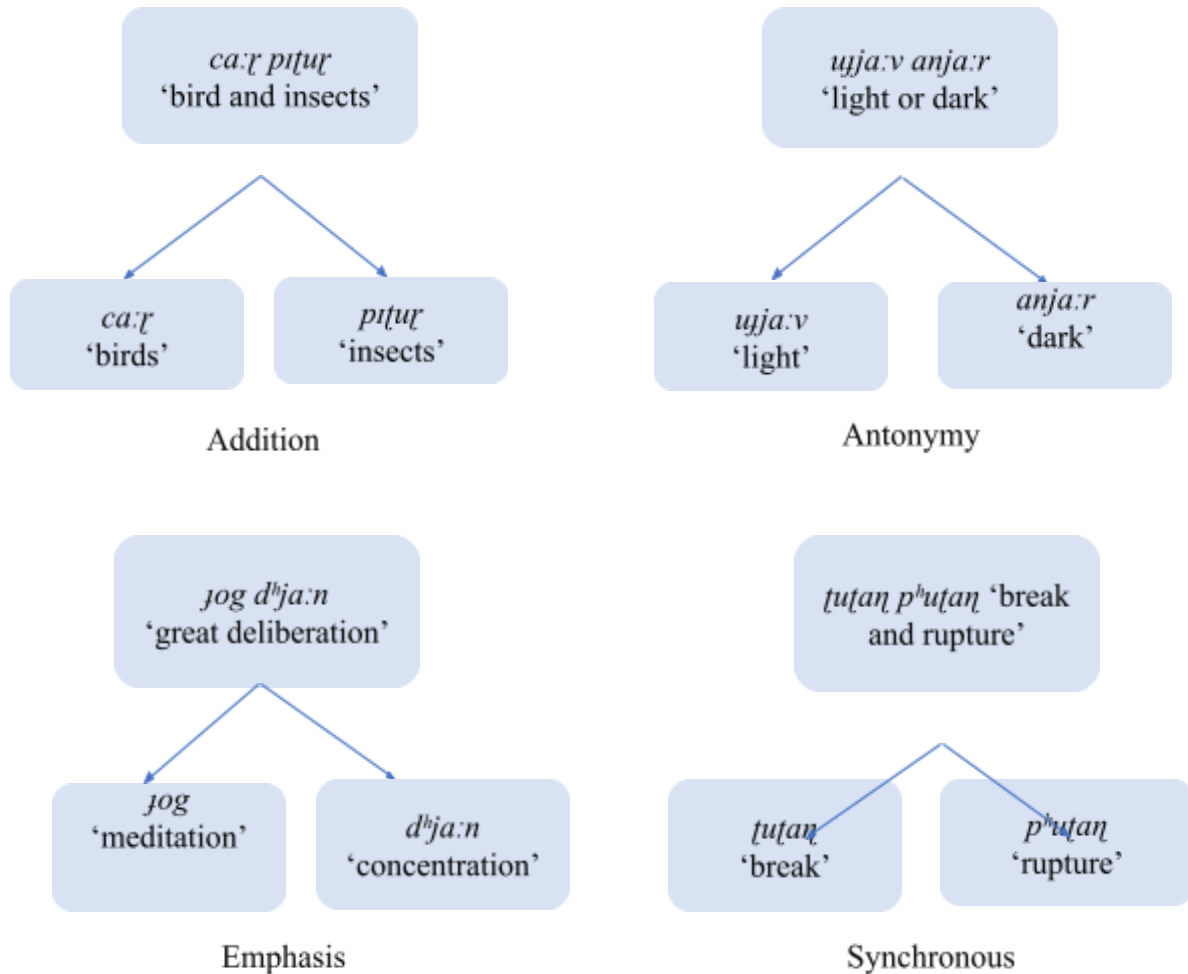
c) Antonyms are words that have opposite meanings and are used together in a conjunctive role, maintaining their contrasting meanings in the compound and creating a sense of symmetry.

d) Synchronous events exhibit symmetrical characteristics through the correlation of two events that were previously described as individual occurrences.

The relationship between synchrony and symmetry is based on temporality. If the events exhibited by V – V compounds are synchronous, the coordinate is symmetrical. The notion of symmetry reinforces the presence of heads in coordinate. We conclude that both the components of symmetrical coordinate bear head. The components and the compound display translational symmetry whereby,

$$AB < A\ (+)\ B$$

(asyndeton)

Symmetry in coordinate should be viewed in the context of the semantic roles the components play in compound formation. For example, a Kumaoni coordinate compound is symmetrical if it performs any of the following roles:

5.2 Conceptual Asymmetry

The examination of conceptual asymmetry in coordinate is approached from a unique perspective. The proposal suggests that certain Kumaoni coordinates display conceptual

asymmetry as a result of discrepancies in reference, input, and rank. In the following analysis, we will examine each of these three asymmetries individually.

i. Reference asymmetry - As previously discussed, the act of displaying conceptual symmetry through coordinate translation involves fully translating the components and their reference within the compound. In section 4.2, we conducted an analysis of multi-functional or appositional coordination. In summary, components, when considered in isolation, represent distinct concepts. Conversely, the compound solely denotes the reference of a single constituent. The significance of the left component is encompassed within the selected one.

26	N_1		N_2		N_1 N_2
(a)	***kʰa-ve***	‘food’	*pɪ-ve*	‘drinks’	*kʰave pɪve* ‘food and other things’
	+		<		
(b)	***kʰave pɪve***		*kas*	*bʰɔ?*	
	food-drinks		how	happen.PERF.SG	
	How was the food (and other things)?				

N_1 N_2 in (26a) and sentence (26b) chooses *kʰave* ‘food’ as a dominant concept over *pɪve* ‘drinks.’ The bracketed meaning is optional and might not even be referred to pragmatically.

	N_1	N_2	N_1 N_2
27.	***kʰel*** ‘sports’ +	*ku:d* ‘jump’ <	*kʰel ku:d* ‘sports’

In (27), N_2 being a related concept assists N_1, i.e., *kʰel* ‘sports.’ *ku:d* ‘jump’ or *ku:dna:* ‘to jump’ is one of the many included activities playing sports or sports events.

ii. Input asymmetry – Certain constituents exhibit a lack of ability to convey their intended meaning when combined with other constituents in a compound structure. These elements exhibit a hierarchical structure that is characterised by a lack of vertical differentiation. Nevertheless, the compound fails to encapsulate a succinct representation of the constituent elements. Instead, it produces a generalised or a specific yet semantically related significance. A discrepancy exists between the semantic interpretations of the individual components and their incomplete translation within the compound.

28	N_1	N_2		N_1 N_2
(a)	*caltə* ‘walking’ +	*firtə* <	‘wandering’	*caltə firtə* ‘healthy’
(b)	*kaːm* ‘job’ +	*kaːɟᵊ* <	‘work’	*kaːm kaːɟᵊ* ‘auspicious occasion/ wedding’

In (28a), the constituents *caltə* 'walking' and *firtə* 'wandering' in the compound *caltə firtə* 'healthy' are linked indirectly by the concept of mobility. The coordinates suggest that the ability to ambulate freely and effortlessly serves as a symbolic representation of a healthy individual, in contrast to an individual who is immobile. The coordinate found in (28b) has been borrowed from the Hindi language. The two lexical items, namely *kaːm* 'job' and *kaːɟᵊ* 'work', can be traced back to their Sanskrit roots and exhibit a high degree of semantic

similarity. The term "coordinate compound" does not encompass any ambiguous labour or commercial activities, but rather is specifically employed to signify a matrimonial event. The elements and their compounds are situated at an equivalent level within the hierarchical structure. The presence of asymmetry in input mismatch is indicative of exocentricity.

iii. Rank Asymmetry – The observed asymmetry can be attributed to a mismatch in hierarchy between the individual components and the compound. The constituent elements are subordinate to their composite structure. Put differently, the compound can be classified as belonging to the higher category within the classification system.

	N_1		N_2		N_1 N_2
29 (a)	*goru* 'cow'	+	*baːcʰə* <	'calf'	*goru* bacchə 'cattle'
(b)	*naːn* 'small'	+	*t̪ʰul* <	'big'	*naːn t̪ʰul* 'size'

In the given example (29a), the compound term denotes a broader classification, specifically referring to cattle. The lexical items *goru* and *baːcʰə* can be classified within the biological taxonomy known as *goru baːcʰə*, which encompasses the category of "cattle." Cattle refers to a category of specific animals that have been domesticated for the purpose of producing various goods, regardless of their gender. Hence, the constituents in (29a) can be regarded as subordinate entities within its compound structure. Likewise, within the context of (29b), the adjectival constituents *naːn* 'small' and *t̪ʰul* 'big' exhibit antonymous qualities. The term *naːn t̪ʰul* refers to the concept of "size" and is associated with the scalar interpretation of measurement. The phenomenon of rank asymmetry is driven by the concept of exocentricity.

Among the three aforementioned asymmetries, it appears that input and rank asymmetry are elicited by the exocentric nature of coordinate compounds. The phenomenon of reference asymmetry indicates that the leftmost element in a coordinate construction exerts a slight dominance over the overall meaning. This observation provides evidence for the leftward bias exhibited by certain coordinates compounds Conversely, the occurrence of exocentricity resulting from input and rank asymmetry implies the existence of an external null head.

6. Summary

The present study examined the properties and attributes of coordinate compounds in the Kumaoni language. Initially, we provided a concise overview of the historical context surrounding coordinate compounds and proceeded to examine the syntactic patterns exhibited by noun-noun, adverb-adverb, adjective-adjective, and verb-verb coordinate compounds. The study's findings indicate that, in contrast to Sanskrit, the combination of verbs and adverbs results in the formation of coordinate compounds. Furthermore, an examination was conducted on the diverse semantic roles that constituents fulfil when constructing coordinate compounds. The distribution of semantic roles in Kumaoni involves both endocentric and exocentric coordinate compounds. Furthermore, the utilisation of the concepts of conceptual symmetry and asymmetry was employed in order to investigate the understanding of headedness and

subsequently, the semantic foundation within the constituents of the coordinate. The argument put forth suggests that compounds exhibiting translational symmetry possess two heads on each constituent. The presence of an external null head is observed in the exocentric coordinate bear asymmetry, which is attributed to the different roles discussed in section 4.

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Borrowed

ABSTRACT

Slang is an expression of communication which supports the speakers' thoughts. It is a taboo or abusive form of expression. Bodo people have been using slang in conversation with each other since ancient times. The study also observed slang borrowing or switching into Bodo vocabulary which are extracted to fill the gap in a multilingual society. Bodo people speak almost more than two languages and mix words from different languages. It is shown in the relevance of different aspects of sociolinguistics. As a result, Bodo people borrow slang from the Indian language family as well as foreign language families into their vocabulary. Under the influence of social context, most slang is borrowed from Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, and English into the Bodo language. Some slang words are slightly changed and assimilated into utterances with the origin Bodo language, and some slang words are adopted the same way as a foreign language. The data of the study is collected from interviews and questionnaires, and for further data, secondary sources are collected from Books, Journals, Articles etc. which are related to slang and borrowing.

1. Introduction

The language which is used for internal purposes is slang. It is an expression of a taboo or abusive word. From a linguistic point of view, slang is a way of communicating that supports the speaker's thoughts. Slang may be used in different social contexts, such as rebuking, insulting, comedy, and symbolic, because of its impolite characteristics. It can be formed as a single word, phrase, or in sentence. Basically, slang consists of taboo or abusive words that have very impolite characteristics. It has meaning itself and boundary to use which are used for internal purposes. Therefore, sometimes slang may not be understood by all. On the other hand, slang has no particular grammar or vocabulary because it is not like natural languages. Slang is one kind of language that is created by people to express something new or old. According to **Chen Linhua**, "*slang is highly informal and is often used in colloquial speech. It is a part of a language that is usually outside of conventional or standard usage and that may consist of both newly coined words and phrases and of new or extended meanings attached to established terms* "[1]. From the aforementioned definition, it can be said that slang is an informal form of speech that is used by common people. In society, people use the language in two ways: formal and informal. The formal one is when people use it for some official purposes, such as an application, class room,

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[1] Chen Linhua. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/yes-language-can-have-attitude-too-called-slang-elena-volpato.

with parents, etc., and the informal one is when people use some kind of taboo expression of word. Slang is always informal and deviates from conventional terminologies. It may express a new meaning of words, it may be old, and sometimes it may be a modified word. It can be seen that most slang words are used by particular groups. When people are in the group, they speak what they want, and they enjoy the slang words among them. Therefore, a particular group supports the development of slang in society. According to **William O'Grady** and **John Archibald**, "*slang varies group to group in addressing and identifying group members. Every slang user maintains his/her own set of vocabulary along with its use in different ways*"[2]. The slang used by people in conversation has become common vocabulary, and they maintain their vocabulary. Every slang user uses different slang in different situations. On the other hand, slang always depends on the speaker and hearer and it refers to taboo, abusive, disrespect and humorous language.

1.1 Bodo Language and its status

The Bodo language is spoken by the Bodo people and was included as one of the eight scheduled Indian languages in 2003. The Bodo language comes from the Bodo-Garo subgroup of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. Bodo people are primarily found in Assam and are also scattered over parts of North-East India, like Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal, and Meghalaya etc. The Bodo People are also scattered in neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan. The Bodo community is one of the largest tribe among the tribes of Assam. It consists of many communities as a Bodo speech group such as Boro, Dimasa, Rabha, Tiwa, Garo, Hajong, Koch, Deuri Tipera, etc., but now they are separately identifying themselves with their language, tradition, and culture as a community. The Bodo community also has its own language, culture, and literature, and they are separately introduced as Bodo. The Bodo people assimilated in their daily lives with the neighbouring people like Assamese, Bengali, and Hindi etc. who live very close to the Bodos.

In the early period, almost until the middle of the nineteenth century, Bodo people used Assamese, Bengali, and Roman script in their writing. It is also believed that **'Deodhai'**[3] script was also used in ancient times to write the Bodo language, which was also known as the script of God. Since 1975, the **'Devanagari'** script has been adopted as the standard form of writing in the Bodo, and it is still used. In 1963, the Bodo language was introduced as the medium of instruction in the primary school, and later it is introduced up to the higher secondary level. The Bodo language was also introduced to postgraduates at Gauhati University in 1996 and gradually in the universities of Bodoland, Dibrugarh and Cotton University in Assam. Apart from this, the Bodo language is introduced as MIL in North Eastern Hills University (NEHU) of Meghalaya. Recently, it is also introduced as Skill Enhancement Course (SEC) in Delhi University. Bodo language is included in various competitive examinations, such as the Assam Public Service Commission (APSC), Union Public Service Commission (UPSC), University Grand Commission (UGC), and different competitive examinations in the state. In the globalisation

[2] O'Grady, William, and John Archibald. *Contemporary Linguistic Analysis: an introduction*. Toronto: Pearson Education Canada,5th ed.2004, p.426

[3]Rabha Bishnu Prasad (1942). *Siphung Bahir Sur*. Mohini mohan brahma and Jogen hazahika (ed), Nayak. Sodwo Assam Pragatishil Sanmilan.

period, Bodo is used to text messages through social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, Youtube etc. and broadcasted in the electronic media in AIR, news portals, TV shows, etc.

Documentation, digitisation and development work in the language is done in various levels by the Indian government carried out by different institutions and organisations. The North Eastern Regional Language Centre (NERLC), Guwahati, which is one of seven centres of the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), has been offering a learning programme on Bodo as a second language speaker along with the different regional languages. North Eastern Hill University (NEHU), Indian Institute of Technology Mumbai (IITM), Indian Institute of Technology Gauhati (IITG), Delhi University (DU), Tezpur University, Gauhati University (GU), Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC) Pune, Research Centre for Indian Language Technology (RCILT) have been doing in the language for digitisation and documentation in different level.

2. Identify the Borrowing

Language borrowing and exchange are the natural processes of a multilingual society. Borrowing means in a simple word, bringing some words from other languages to their native language. If any equivalent words are not found in the own language, then they borrow from another language. It might be borrowed as phonological, lexical, phonetic, or syntactic elements from other languages and incorporated into the native language. Many researchers have used various terminologies to distinguish borrowing, such as loan words, code-switching, transfer, and convergence. According to **Thomason** and **Kaufman** "*Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features*"[4]. In the case of borrowing, some words may be altered to the native language by the inclusion of particular features and may be used as origin terms in the native language. It may be found that some terms are borrowed without any alteration in their native language. When a person speaks two or more languages, he or she will speak in their original language first, but if they are unable to find an appropriate word in their own language to explain, they will use a word from another language such as /saikel/ (cycle) /kɔmpiutar/ (computer), /marbɔl/ (marble), /bas/ (bus) etc. There are no specific terms in Bodo to express instead of these words. Therefore, Bodo people use these words when they speak to each other. It may be said that one of the main reasons for borrowing is the lack of distinct terms in the origin language.

Almost all Bodo people speak more than two languages. In such a situation it has been found that numerous slang lexical terms are taken from other languages and added to Bodo's lexicon. They use these slang terms on a daily basis, and they have become part of their everyday language. Many borrowed slang words in the Bodo language are altered by the addition of certain features such as in Assamese /nakati/ (doxy) Bodo /nak^{h}at^{h}i/ (doxy) Assamese /dakait/ (robbery) Bodo /daket/ (robbery) etc. and it is also found that many slang words have been borrowed without changing, such as in English /nɔnsens/ Bodo /nɔnsens/ English /sɛksi/ (sexy) Bodo /sɛksi/ (sexy) English /ɪdiət/ (idiot) Bodo /ɪdiət/ (idiot) etc. Many slang words in Bodo have been taken from different language groups, such as Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and so on. Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, and English have been found as well. There are numerous

[4]Thomason, S.G. & T. Kaufman (1988). *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics*. University of California Press, p.37.

Assamese words in Bodo vocabulary because it plays as the lingua franca in Assam. Aside from that, it has borrowed words indirectly from Persian, Portuguese, Arabic, Turkish, and other languages via Assamese, Bengali, and Hindi. These borrowed words were first incorporated into Assamese, Bengali, and Hindi, and later into Bodo vocabulary.

3. Review of Literature

There are different languages in the world and every language has slang words. Bodo is a language which is spoken by Bodo people. There also slang in Bodo language which are used in day-to-day conversation along with standard language in Bodo.

Brahma Kamal Kumar's 'Gwnang Raokhanthi' (1972). In this grammar book, many Bodo slang words are included, for example- /t^{h}aplibudraŋ/ (swain), /k^{h}ibuaɔ k^{h}ɔrɔ/ (fool), /k^{h}ibu serthe/ (curmudgeon), etc. Narzary Mr. Mintu's 'Anglo-Bodo Dictionary' (2005), in this dictionary, Bodo slang is used, for example- /abu bint^{h}u/ (nipple), /bɯɪt^{h}ala/ (rakish), /p^{h}ap^{h}i/ (iniquitous) etc. Chainary Swarna Prabha's 'Boro Raokhanthi', (2006), for example- /k^{h}ibu guar/ (indolent), /salaɪ p^{h}arnɯɪ/ (lying), /k^{h}ibu saɔ/ (to call the bad name of others in absence). Chainary Dr. Swarna Prabha and Basumatary Dr. Phukan Chandra's 'Gwdan Boro Swdwbbihung' (2023), for example- /k^{h}aŋk^{h}ua/ (gluttonous), /nalayt^{h}i/ (careless), /sundaɔri/ (a flirting woman) etc. Bodo Sahitya Sabha's 'Boro-Ingraji-Hindi-Swdwbbihung' (1996), for example- /k^{h}ibuaɔ ɔr naŋ/ (To come to sense), /k^{h}ibu sert^{h}e/ (curmudgeon), /k^{h}aŋk^{h}ua/ (gluttonous) etc. Apart from the Bodo grammar and dictionary, there are lots of Bodo books such as novels, short stories, drama, poetry, etc. Chittaranjan Mushahary's Khithir (1993), Col Girl (1985), Manoranjan Lahary's Hainamuli (1985), Rebeka (1999), Alaishri (2003), Daini (2005). In these novels many slang words are used which is often used in day to day conversation in Bodo. There also many slang words in 'Bwisagu Arw Harimu' (1976) by Lakheswar Brahma. 'Boro-Kocharini Khuga–Methai' (2010) by K.K. Boro. 'Boroni Khuga Methai' (1960) by Mohini Mohan Brahma. 'Boro Bathra-Fao' (1988) by Dr. Liladhar Brahma etc.

4. Objectives

The Bodo language is spoken in almost in all the dominated Bodo areas in Assam and some parts of West Bengal like Jalpaiguri area and in Nepal in the district of Jhapa. Therefore, this research paper attempted to focus on -

- To identify the Bodo slang words.
- To identify the borrowing slang words in Bodo.

5. Methodology

This research paper followed both descriptive and qualitative methods. The primary goal of this research is to look into Bodo slang as well as the borrowing of slang in Bodo from other languages.

Data collection

Both the primary and secondary sources are used for collecting datas from the natural conversation with the native speakers and field survey. Some datas are collected from the related books, articles and social media such as Facebook, Youtube, Whatsapp etc. as secondary source.

6. Research Findings

Since the usages of Bodo language as a means of communication among them some kinds of impolite words have been also used alongside conventional language. It reflects in their sentences when they converse with each other. It can be found in many forms of Bodo slang, such as insulting, rebuking, joking, symbolism, gender approaches, and so on. It is dependent on both the situation and the speaker. Each slang term has a particular meaning and is used differently by the Bodo people. The slang words in Bodo can be discussed as follows:

***6.1 USE OF SLANG IN MEN GROUP*:** There are two groups of genders: men and women. Each group has a unique word to distinguish the gender. There is various slang terms in Bodo that only refer to the man's group. For example:

Table -1:

Bodo slang	Glossary
/mɯdla/	naughty
/daɪna/	witch
/laŋsuniya/	scapegallows
/bɯɪtʰala/	rakish
/balɔnda/	bachelor
/gɔɪda/	silly
/ramɯnda/	Stunted in grouth
/zamba/	Fool
/zalabudru/	Clumsy
/zaɯlia baɯlia/	Madly, in a mad manner.
/dugamara/	Arrogant
/badula/	Slug
/adua/	Idiot
/lɔrgɔ gɔ/	Slack
/hɔŋkʰa/	Naff
/mandaɔla/	Lascivious
/haraɪ/	Monster
/haraŋga/	having long and thinly set teeth
/baŋkɯ/	Devour

Bodo slang	Glossary
/mɯdla/	naughty
/daɪna/	witch
/dakʰura/	Pulpy
/zaɔlia/	Doolally
/selepa/	a lier
/sendla/	Squint-eyed
/kʰaŋkʰua/	Gluttonous
/bɯrnaɪ gɯnaŋ/	Delirium
/bɯrkʰenay/	attacked with epilepsy
/lɔŋpɔd/	Scapegallos
/tʰioria/	Irritated
/tʰipʰudla/	Vapour
/mɯsɯɔ sarɯn/	Bull
/mɯkra/	Monkey
/daɔla/	Cock
/hɔtʰɔsura/	Luckless
/hiŋsakʰuria/	Envious

***6.2 USE OF SLANG IN WOMEN GROUP*:** There are also certain slang terms in the Bodo language that expresses just women. These slang terms are used by both men and women, although they only refer to women. These are the words:

Bodo Slang	Glossary
/nalaytʰi/	Careless
/bazari/	Wicket
/bɯɪtʰali/	Amorous
/baduli/	languours woman
/bagraŋsi/	impetuous
/sundaɔri/	A flirting woman
/sunsuni/	roamer
/kʰaŋkʰini/	Female ghost

Table-2

/silkʰini/	foppery
/delay maŋri/	foppery
/dugi/	ego
/senli/	Squint- eyed
/nalay sɔlay/	Careless handling
/sɔtʰaŋgi/	fickle
/balɔndi/	unmarried woman
/aduŋgari/	spinster
/zigrɯd/	Shrewd in talking
/tʰɔgrɯn/	Light-natured
/tʰɔŋali/	Light-natured girl
/lazigɯɪ/	brazen
/dayni/	witch

***6.3 USE OF SLANG BY BOTH MEN AND WOMEN GROUP*:** In Bodo society, many slang words are utilised by both male and female groups. For example:

Table-3

Bodo Slang	Glossary
/sɯɪma aitʰiŋ/	dog's foot
/siyal/	fox
/zibɯɔ gaŋsɯm/	poisonous snake
/pʰesa megɔn/	owl eye
/salaɪ pʰarnɯɪ/	a lier
/kʰibuaɔ kʰɔrɔ/	fool person
/zɯlɯɪni haŋgar/	one who tarnishes the good name of a family
/haraɔ/	grin
/haraɔ hatʰaɔ/	having uneven teeth
/ɔlsia/	slob
/naŋla bɔŋsa/	without reference
/naŋa pʰaŋa/	without cause
/kʰibu sertʰe/	curmudgeon

/k^{h}ibuaɔ ɔr naŋ/	to come to sense
/k^{h}uria baria/	ugly

6.4 SLANG BORROWING IN BODO

Apart from Bodo slang, there are several slang words borrowed from Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, and English into the Bodo lexicon. These slang terms are used as the common vocabulary of the Bodo. The borrowing slang can be found in their conversational language. The borrowing slang lexis is given below. For instance:

6.4.1 ASSAMESE TO BODO**:** Many slang terms are included from Assamese in the Bodo vocabulary, either directly or indirectly. In terms of socialisation, Bodo has adopted some Assamese slang terms, which are used by Bodo people in informal circumstances. For example:

Table-1

Assamese	Bodo	Glossary
/kukur/	/kukur /kɔkur/	dog
/nilaz/	/nilaz/	immodest
/k^{h}aybaɯali/	k^{h}aybaɯali	ungrateful
/bɔɪnak suda/	/bɯinak suda/	Sister fucker
/set/	/set/	penis
/makɔrmura/	/makɔrmura/	mother's head
/maɪremura/	/maɪremura/	mother's head
/balɔr/	/balɔr/	a word used to show anger
/nakati/	/nak^{h}at^{h}i/	Doxy
/dakaɪt/	/daket/	Robbery
/daku/	/dak^{h}u/	Robbery
/burbɔg/	/burb^{h}ɔg/	Fool
/fɔkɔtiya/	/fɔkɔtiya/	Talkative
/ɔhɔŋkar/	/ɔhɔŋkar/	Haughty
/zɔhɔra/	/zɔhɔra/	a bastard son
/zɔhɔri/	/zɔhɔri/	An illegitimate daughter/child.
/mɔrɔn nɔha/	/mɔrɔn nɔha/	A person who has no place to die
/sɔɪtan/	/sɯɪt^{h}an/	Cleaver

***6.4.2 HINDI TO BODO*:** It can be found that some Hindi slang terms are usually imported into Bodo via Assamese and Bengali. On the other side, Hindi is India's national language; the TV shows, films, and social media etc. are inclined Bodos to use the words. As an example:

Table-2

Hindi	Bodo	Glossary
/behenchud/	/behenchud/	sister fucker
/bandɔr/	/bandɔr/	monkey
/bɔdmaɪs/	/bɔdmas/	hooligan
/p^{h}altu/	/p^{h}altu/	useless
/kali/	/kali/	kali
/d^{h}andawaji/	/d^{h}andabaji/	
/makevusura/	/makevusura/	mother fuck
/bhɔsdike/	/bhɔsdike/	--
/hijra/	/hijra/	eunuch
/mal/	/mal/	Sexy girl
/harami/	/harami/	bad character
/gunda/	/gunda/	hooligan
/Suar ka batsa/	/suɯadka batsa/	piglet
/teri maki/	/teri maki/	mother fucker
/koŋgal/	/k^{h}aŋgal/	pauper

***6.4.3 BENGALI TO BODO*:** There are many slang words in Bodo that are borrowed from Bengali. These slang words are used in informal milieus by the Bodo people. For example:

Table-3

Bengali	Bodo	Glossary
/bɔka chɔda/	/bɔkasuda/	fucking moron
/rendi/	/rendi/	street walker
/d^{h}ur/	/d^{h}ur/	don’t speak nonsense
/beɪg er mat^{h}a/	/begɔr mat^{h}a/	frog’s head
/baal/	/bal/	pubic hair
/c^{h}utmarani/	/c^{h}utmarani/	fucker
/mat^{h}a k^{h}arab/	/mat^{h}a k^{h}arab/	out of mind
/fatafati/	/fatafati/	amazing
gɔndɔgɔl	/gɔndɔgɔl/	trouble

/g^{h}anta/	/g^{h}ɔnta/	--
/haramzada/	/haramzada/	--
/sudurvaɪ/	/sudirvai/suduvai/	-fucker
/kuttar batcha/	/kuttar batcha/	dog's son

6.4.4 ENGLISH TO BODO**:** English is a foreign language; being an international language, it has an impact on many aspects in Bodo, such as language, literature, and culture etc. In such a context, there are many slang words imported from English into Bodo vocabulary. For Example**:**

Table-4

English	**Bodo**	**Glossary**
/seksi/	/seksi/	sexy
/hɔt/	/hɔt/	hot
/mʌðə fʌkə/	/mʌðə fʌkə/	mother fucker
/lɔl/	/lɔl/	laugh
/pleɪgarl/	/pleɪgarl/	seductress
/geɪ/	/geɪ/	gay
/pleɪbɔɪ/	/pleɪbɔɪ/	playboy
/breɪnʃɔːt/	/breɪnʃɔːt/	brainshort
/nɔnsens/	/nɔnsens/	nonsense
/ɪdiət/	/ɪdiət/	idiot
/ʃʊgə dædi/	/ʃʊgə dædi/	a man spends freely on a younger person
/blʌdi/	/blʌdi/	bloody
/fʌk/	/fʌk/	fuck
/selfis/	/selfis/	selfish
/egɔ/	/egɔ/	ego

6.4.5 SANSKRIT TO BODO**:** Many slang terms adopted from Sanskrit are used in day-to-day conversation and can be found in Bodo. These slang words are entered indirectly via Assamese, Hindi, and Bengali into Bodo. For example:

Table-5

Sanskrit	**Bodo**	**Glossary**
/murk^{h}ɑ/	/murk^{h}ɔ/	fool
/dustɔ/	/dustɔ/	wicked
/papi/	/p^{h}ap^{h}i/	sin

7.Conclusion

Slang is a language that contains offensive, profane, and jargon terms. In Bodo, slang has been used since ancient times, and it has been used both orally and in written form. Slang terms are commonly used by Bodo people in informal contexts. If the speaker is furious with someone, they may scold them using unpleasant words. It is also obvious that each slang word has a particular meaning and is used in different ways in Bodo. Sometimes, slang may be a modification of a word, and it may express something new or old, but slang is mostly used in internal terms that not all people may understand. Bodos use slang words apart from their own that are borrowed from other languages, like Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, English, and Sanskrit, and those words are also incorporated into Bodo vocabulary.

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অবাঙালিদের বাংলা ভাষা শিক্ষার বিষয়-আশয়

বিপ্লব দত্ত
ডেবরা থানা শহীদ ক্ষুদিরাম স্মৃতি মহাবিদ্যালয়

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লিঙ্গুয়া ফ্রাঙ্কা,
গোষ্ঠীবদ্ধ শিক্ষা,
ক্রিয়াপদ,
বিভক্তি

বি ষ য় - সং ক্ষে প

অবাঙালিদের বাংলা শেখাতে গেলে যে যে সমস্যার মধ্যে আমরা পড়ি সেগুলি সম্পর্কে ধারণা দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে এই সন্দর্ভে। এর পাশাপাশি বাংলা শেখার উদ্দেশ্য ও পদ্ধতি নিয়েও আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। তারপর বাংলা বর্ণ ও ধ্বনির উচ্চারণের জটিলতার দিকে আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে। বর্ণ ও ধ্বনির বৈপরীত্যের বিষয়গুলিকেও তুলে ধরা হয়েছে। বাংলা ক্রিয়ার বৈচিত্র্য আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। একটি ধাতু থেকে কতো রকমের ক্রিয়া তৈরি হতে পারে তা দেখানো হয়েছে। তারপর বিশেষ্যের বিভক্তির পর্যালোচনা করা হয়েছে। সবশেষে বাংলা বাক্যের গঠন বিষয়ে সংক্ষিপ্ত অথচ প্রয়োজনীয় বিষয়গুলিকে তুলে ধরা হয়েছে।

১। ভূমিকা

যে কোনো বাঙালি বাংলায় কথা বলতে পারেন। এর মধ্যে কিছু অংশ মানুষ সাক্ষর নন (দ্রঃ পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সাক্ষরতার হার ৭৬.২৬%), তারা বাংলা লিখতে জানেন না। যারা বাংলা বলতে ও লিখতে পারেন তাদের একটি বড় অংশই বাংলা ভাষার ভেতরকার নিয়মকানুন সেইভাবে জানেন না। কিন্তু তাতেও অসুবিধা নেই কাজ চলে যাচ্ছে। তবে অনেকেই মনে করেন বাংলা আবার শেখার কী আছে? আমরা হয়তো ঔপনিবেশিক আধিপত্যের দ্বারা প্রভাবিত হয়েই আমাদের সন্তানদের ইংরাজি মাধ্যম স্কুলে পাঠিয়ে দিই। খুব মজার বিষয় অনেকক্ষেত্রেই তারা বাংলাকে আবার দ্বিতীয় ভাষা হিসাবে শেখে। আমি তাদেরই বাংলা শেখানোর বিষয়-আশয় নিয়ে কথা বলবো যাঁরা বাঙালি নন বা যাঁদের জন্ম থেকে বেড়ে ওঠা কোনো বাঙালি অধ্যুষিত অঞ্চলে নয়।

১.১ কেন শিখবেন?

এবার যে প্রশ্নটি খুব প্রাসঙ্গিক হয়ে ওঠে কেন বাংলা ভাষা শিখবেন? আমরা জানি সারা বিশ্বে প্রায় ৪ শতাংশ মানুষ (প্রথম ভাষা হিসাবে) এবং সংখ্যায় প্রায় ৩০ কোটি মানুষ বাংলা ভাষায় কথা বলেন[1]। এই বৃহৎ অংশের মানুষের কাছে পৌঁছানোর জন্য বহুজাতিক সংস্থাগুলিকে বাংলা ভাষা শেখায় গুরুত্ব দিতেই হবে। আবার পেশাগত তাগিদ থেকে অনেককেই বাংলা ভাষা শিখতে হয়। অনেকে আবার বাংলা শেখার কারণ বলতে গিয়ে অনুবাদ নির্ভরতা কমিয়ে সরাসরি বাংলা সাহিত্য পড়ার জন্য বাংলা শেখার

[1] সূত্রঃ উইকিপিডিয়া, Link-
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengali_language#:~:text=With%20approximately%20300%20million%20native,of%20speakers%20in%20the%20world. Retrieved on 27.02.2022

কথা বলেন। দ্বিতীয় ভাষা হিসাবে বাংলা ভাষা চর্চা শুরু হয়ে গিয়েছিল অষ্টাদশ শতক থেকেই। পর্তুগিজ মিশনারি মানোএল (*Manoel da Assumpçam*) ১৭৪৩ সালে পর্তুগিজ ভাষায় বাংলা ভাষার ব্যাকরণ[2] লিখেছিলেন। তারপর হ্যালেড[3] ও কেরি[4] ইংরাজি ভাষায় বাংলা ভাষার ব্যাকরণ লিখেছেন। এই গ্রন্থগুলি রচিত হয়েছিল অবাঙালিদের বাংলা শেখানোর জন্যই। দ্বিতীয় ভাষা হিসাবে বাংলা শেখার প্রবণতা কম কিন্তু পরিস্থিতি পাল্টাচ্ছে এবং এর জন্য আমাদেরও তৈরি হতে হবে।

১.২ কারা শিখবেন?

কারা বাংলা শিখবেন? ভাষা শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে শিক্ষার্থীর মাতৃভাষা কী তাও অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। মাতৃভাষার নিয়মগুলি সম্পর্কে ওয়াকিবহাল থাকার জন্য শিক্ষার্থীরা তার নিজস্ব ভাষাবোধজ্ঞান দ্বিতীয় ভাষার ওপর চাপিয়ে দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করেন। শিক্ষককে এই বিষয়ে সচেতন থাকতে হয়। তাই বাংলা ভাষার শিক্ষার্থীকে কয়েকটি শ্রেণিতে বিন্যস্ত করে নিলে সুবিধা হবে—

- ঘনিষ্ঠ সমগোত্রজ ভাষার (অসমিয়া ও ওড়িআ) অন্তর্গত কোনো একটি ভাষার শিক্ষার্থী
- দূরবর্তী সমগোত্রজ (হিন্দি, মারাঠি, গুজরাতি ইত্যাদি) অন্তর্গত কোনো একটি ভাষার শিক্ষার্থী
- ভারতীয় কিন্তু ভিন্ন ভাষাগোষ্ঠির (তামিল, মলয়ালম ইত্যাদি) অন্তর্গত কোনো একটি ভাষার শিক্ষার্থী
- ভারতীয় প্রধান চারটি ভাষাগোষ্ঠির অন্তর্গত নয় এমন কোনো একটি ভাষার (ইংরাজি ইত্যাদি) শিক্ষার্থী

অন্যান্য ভারতীয় ভাষার তুলনায় অসমিয়া ও ওড়িআ ভাষার শিক্ষার্থীর বাংলা ভাষা শেখা বেশি সুবিধার। কারণ ভাষার নিয়মকানুন ও শব্দভাণ্ডারে সাদৃশ্য সবচেয়ে বেশি। আবার অভারতীয় ভাষায় শব্দ ভাণ্ডার থেকে বাক্যগঠনের রীতি সবটাই আলাদা। শিক্ষককে এই সমস্ত বিষয়ে অতিরিক্ত নজর দিতে হয়।

১.৩ প্রাথমিক সমস্যা

ভাষা শেখানোর বিষয়টিতে অনেক বাধা আছে। শিক্ষক ও শিক্ষার্থী যদি দ্বিভাষিক না হন ও মাঝখানে যদি অন্য কোনো ভাষা না থাকে (যাকে আমরা লিঙ্গুয়া-ফ্রাঙ্কা বলি) তাহলে সমস্যা তৈরি হয়। আবার ভাষা শেখাতে গেলেও নানা ভাষার বা কথার প্রয়োগ আমরা করে থাকি যাকে আমরা অধিভাষা (মেটালিঙ্গুইস্টিকস) বলি তা জানতে হয়। ধরে নেওয়া যাক আমরা বাংলা এমন কাউকে শেখাচ্ছি যিনি ইংরাজি বা হিন্দি জানেন না। সেক্ষেত্রে প্রাথমিক ভাবে আমাদের মূল শব্দ (key word) চিহ্নিতকরণের মধ্যে দিয়েই এগিয়ে যাওয়া ছাড়া উপায় নেই। খুব কম মানুষই আছেন যারা প্রয়োজনের বাইরে গিয়ে ভাষা শেখেন। আর যাদের খুব প্রয়োজন তারা কাজ চালানোর মতো মৌখিক ভাষা শিখে নেন কোনো সুনির্দিষ্ট ব্যাকরণসম্মত অনুশীলন ছাড়াই। এটিও একটি ভাষা শেখার পদ্ধতি[5]। এই পদ্ধতিতে ভাষা শেখার জন্য সরাসরি সেই ভাষার গোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে থেকে শিখতে হয়। কিন্তু এতে অনেকক্ষেত্রে ভাষার লিখিত রূপ সম্পর্কে ধারণা হয় না, তৈরি হয় না ভাষাবোধজ্ঞান (cognitive ability)। ভাষাশিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে যে বিষয়গুলি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ তা হল বুঝতে পারে কিনা, ভাষা বলতে পারে কিনা, পড়তে পারে কিনা,

[2] *Vocabulario em idioma Bengalla, e Portuguez. Dividido em duas partes*

[3] A Grammar of the Bengal Language (1778)

[4] A Grammar of the Bangalee Language (1801)

[5] ডাইরেক্ট মেথড, পরে আলোচনা করা হবে।

লিখতে পারে কিনা, । এই তিন ধরনের দক্ষতা অর্জন করলেই আমরা ধরে নিতে পারি তিনি সম্পূর্ণরূপে ভাষাটি জানেন।

১.৪ পদ্ধতি

ভাষা শেখানোর অনেকগুলি পদ্ধতি আছে; প্রত্যক্ষ পদ্ধতি, ব্যাকরণ-অনুবাদ পদ্ধতি ইত্যাদি। ইংরাজি মাধ্যমের স্কুলগুলি সাধারণত প্রত্যক্ষ পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করে থাকে। এই ক্ষেত্রে শিক্ষার্থী শুধুমাত্র দ্বিতীয় ভাষা শিক্ষকের কাছে শুনে শুনে অভ্যাস করে। ব্যাকরণ চর্চা এক্ষেত্রে ততটা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ হয়ে ওঠে না। অনেকক্ষেত্রে আমরা দেখেছি যারা কাজের সূত্রে দীর্ঘদিন বাইরে যায় তারা সেখানকার ভাষা অনেকটাই শিখে যায়। এক্ষেত্রে বলা যেতে পারে সামগ্রিক পরিবেশটাই ভাষা শিক্ষার অনুকূল। ইংরাজি মাধ্যম স্কুলগুলিতে শিক্ষক ছাড়াও বহু শিক্ষার্থী একসাথে একটি অনুকূল পরিবেশে থাকে যার ফলে শিক্ষার্থীরা শিক্ষক ছাড়াও পারস্পরিক কথাবার্তার মাধ্যমেও ভাষাটি অনেকটা শিখে নেয়। আমরা তাই প্রত্যক্ষ পদ্ধতির সঙ্গে গোষ্ঠিবদ্ধ শিক্ষা (Group Learning) শব্দটিকে জুড়ে দিতে পারি এক্ষেত্রে, বলতে পারি প্রত্যক্ষ ও গোষ্ঠিবদ্ধ শিক্ষা পদ্ধতি। ব্যাকরণ ও অনুবাদ পদ্ধতিটি অনেক পুরানো পদ্ধতি। এই পদ্ধতিতে ব্যাকরণ শিক্ষা ও অনুবাদের মাধ্যমে ভাষা শেখানো হয়। এক্ষেত্রে শিক্ষক ও ছাত্রের মধ্যে একটি তৃতীয় যোগাযোগের ভাষা (লিঙ্গুয়া- ফ্রাঙ্কা) থাকলে সুবিধা হয়। বাংলা মাধ্যম স্কুলগুলিতে ইংরাজি শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে এই পদ্ধতি ব্যবহৃত হতে দেখি। সাংগঠনিক পদ্ধতিতে বাক্যের গঠনের ওপর জোর দেওয়া হয়। আবার অডিও লিঙ্গুয়াল পদ্ধতিতে কথা বলতে শেখানোর ওপর জোর দেওয়া হয়। এই তাত্ত্বিক আলোচনা বেশি না বাড়ানোই ভালো কারণ কোনো নির্দিষ্ট একটি পদ্ধতিতে ভাষা শেখানো সম্ভব এটি জোর দিয়ে বলা যায় না।

১.৫ কোন ভাষা?

বাংলা মুখের ভাষা আর লেখার ভাষা কিন্তু এক নয়। আমরা মুখের ভাষায় অনেক শব্দ ব্যবহার করি সেগুলি লেখার ভাষায় বলি না। যেমন—‘কী বলে’, ‘মানে’, ‘ইয়ে’ ইত্যাদি। ইংরাজিতেও এ ধরনের অপ্রাসঙ্গিক শব্দের প্রয়োগ হতে দেখি। এগুলিকে ইংরাজিতে ফিলার বলে। ইংরাজির ক্ষেত্রেও এমন ফিলারগুলির ব্যবহার দেখি। এগুলি লেখার ভাষায় থাকে না। মুখের ভাষায় অনেক সময় বাক্য শেষই করি না। আবার মুখের ভাষাতে একটি বাক্য একাধিকবার প্রয়োগ করি যা লেখার ভাষায় করি না। মুখের ভাষা কেমন তার একটি উদাহরণ দেওয়া যেতে পারে—“স্যার **আসলে মানে** বলছিলাম কী কাল ডাক্তার খানায় যাবো”। তবে মুখের বাংলা আর লেখার বাংলার মধ্যে তেমন পার্থক্য আর নেই যেমনটি আগে ছিল। আগে লেখার সময় সাধু গদ্যরীতির ব্যবহার হত। বাংলা সংবাদপত্রে ১৯৬৫ সালের পর থেকে বাংলা চলিত ভাষারই ব্যবহার শুরু হয়েছিল। অন্যদিকে বাংলার বহু ঔপভাষিক বৈচিত্র্য আছে। দেখা যায় মান্য চলিত বাংলা ভাষাটিই সর্বত্র গ্রাহ্য হয়। স্কুলে যে সমস্ত বাচ্চারা পড়াশোনা করে তারা বাড়িতে এক ধরনের উপভাষায় কথা বলে আবার স্কুলে এলে মান্য চলিত ভাষাকেই তারা আশ্রয় করে, অসুবিধা হয় না। মান্য চলিত বাংলা ভাষা রেডিও, টেলিভিশন, সংবাদপত্র ইত্যাদির ভাষা। তাই কোনো শিক্ষক যদি বঙ্গালি উপভাষার বক্তা হন তাও শিক্ষার্থীকে কিন্তু মান্য চলিত বাংলাই শেখানো দরকার। তাই মান্যচলিত বাংলা ভাষা জানলে শুধু হবে না মান্য চলিত বাংলার নিয়ম-কানুনগুলিও শিক্ষকের কাছে স্পষ্ট থাকা দরকার।

১.৬ বর্ণমালা সমস্যা

বাংলা শেখাতে গিয়ে বাংলা বর্ণমালা শেখানো আবশ্যিক কী না সে নিয়েও ভাবনাচিন্তা দরকার। ১৮৮০-র দশকে বাংলা রোমান লিপিতে লেখার জন্য প্রচারের উদ্দেশ্যে বিচারপতি জে এফ ব্রাউন 'রোমান অক্ষর সমাজ' প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন। অনেকেই মনে করেন বাংলা ভাষা যদি রোমান লিপিতে লেখা যায় তাহলে সুবিধা হয়, বাংলা স্বরবর্ণ, ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণ বা যুক্তবর্ণের অযথা ঝামেলা থেকে মুক্ত হওয়া যায়। যেমনটি ১৯২৮ সালে তুরস্কের রাজা কামাল পাশা এক রাতের সিদ্ধান্তে তুর্কি ভাষার আরবি লিপিকে রোমান লিপিতে বদলে দিয়েছিলেন। বাংলা বর্ণমালায় জটিলতা আছে এবং তার জন্য রোমান লিপি ব্যবহার করলে ভাষা শিক্ষায় সুবিধা হবে হয়তো কিন্তু যারা ভাষা শিখবেন তারা যে রোমান লিপি জানবেন তা নাও হতে পারে। এই বিতর্কে আমি যাচ্ছি না, শুধু এটুকুই বলতে পারি যে মুখের ভাষা শেখাতে চাইলে রোমান লিপিতে কাজ চলে যাবে।

১.৬.১ বর্ণমালা শেখা

যে সমস্ত শিক্ষার্থী বাংলা ভাষাকে পুরোপুরি শিখতে চান তাদের বাংলা লিপি শেখানো আবশ্যক। শিশুপাঠ্য বর্ণপরিচয় ও সহজপাঠ গ্রন্থ দুটিতে বাংলা বর্ণমালার তালিকায় ভিন্নতা আছে। বিদ্যাসাগর ১২ টি স্বরবর্ণ ও ৪০ টি ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণের তালিকা দিয়েছেন। তিনি 'ড়', 'ঢ়', 'য়' বর্ণগুলিকে ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণের তালিকায় স্থান দিয়েছেন। অন্যদিকে রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর স্বরবর্ণের তালিকা থেকে '৯' বর্ণটিকে বাদ দিয়েছেন, বাদ দিয়েছেন 'ড়', 'ঢ়', 'য়' বর্ণগুলিকেও। তাঁর বর্ণমালায় ১১ টি স্বরবর্ণ ও ৩৪ টি ব্যঞ্জন বর্ণ। আমরা কোনটিকে গ্রহণ করবো? উত্তরটি রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুরই দিয়ে দিয়েছেন। তিনি সহজপাঠের শুরুতেই বলে দিয়েছেন 'এই বই বর্ণপরিচয়ের পর পঠনীয়'। বাংলা ভাষায় যেহেতু '৯' ধ্বনির অস্তিত্ব নেই তাই এই ধ্বনিটি অযথা রেখে লাভ নেই, রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর এক্ষেত্রে ঠিক সিদ্ধান্তই নিয়েছিলেন। আমরা এই লিপিটি ছাড়া বর্ণপরিচয়ের বাকি লিপিগুলিকে গ্রহণ করে নিতে পারি এবং শিক্ষার্থীকে সেভাবেই শেখাতে পারি। অবাঙালিদের বাংলা বর্ণমালার স্বরবর্ণ, ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণ ও সংযুক্ত ব্যঞ্জন বর্ণগুলিকে শেখানো অনেক সমস্যার। অবাঙলিদের এই বিষয়টি শেখাতে গেলে সাদৃশ্যের ক্রম অনুসারে বর্ণগুলিকে শেখানো যেতে পারে। যেমন—'ক', 'ব', 'র' এই বর্ণগুলি একই রকম দেখতে। ১৯৫৬ সালে প্রকাশিত সুখলতা রাও-এর শিশুপাঠ্য 'নিজে পড়ো' গ্রন্থে এই পদ্ধতির প্রয়োগ দেখা যায়। অবাঙালিদের বাংলা লিপি শেখানোর জন্য আমরা এই গ্রন্থের সাহায্য নিতে পারি।

১.৬.২ ধ্বনি ও তার বর্ণ

উচ্চারণ ও তার বর্ণ অনেকক্ষেত্রেই এক হয় না। বাংলা ভাষায় একটি বর্ণ আবার একাধিক ধ্বনির প্রতিনিধিত্ব করতে পারে। যেমন 'অ' এই বর্ণটি কখনো 'অ' আবার কখনো 'ও' ধ্বনির প্রতিনিধিত্ব করে; উদাহরণ- অমর (অ), অরিজিৎ(ও), অত (অ), অতি (ও)। বাংলা ভাষায় এমন ধ্বনিও আছে যার লিপি নেই; যেমন- অ্যা। এই 'অ্যা' ধ্বনিটিকে কখনো 'এ' বর্ণ দিয়েও লিখি; যেমন—একটি। এই সমস্যা যে শুধু বাংলা ভাষার ক্ষেত্রেই দেখা যায় তা নয়। ইংরাজিতেও দেখি যেমন Cinema শব্দে 'C' যে ধ্বনিকে প্রতিনিধিত্ব করে তা আবার Cow এর ক্ষেত্রে হয় না। তালব্য উষ্ম 'শ' ধ্বনির ক্ষেত্রে 'শ' , 'ষ', 'স' এই তিনটি বর্ণই মোটামুটিভাবে ব্যবহৃত হয়। 'ষ' ধ্বনির উপস্থিতি সংস্কৃতে থাকলেও বাংলা ভাষায় নেই তা সত্ত্বেও বাংলা বর্ণমালায় বর্ণটি আছে এবং লেখার ক্ষেত্রেও ব্যবহৃত হয়। এরকম 'ণ' ধ্বনির ক্ষেত্রেও একই কথা প্রযোজ্য অর্থাৎ 'ণ' ধ্বনির উচ্চারণ মূল ধ্বনি হিসাবে বাংলায় নেই। শিক্ষার্থীকে এ বিষয়গুলি জানিয়ে দেওয়া দরকার যে বর্ণমালায় ও শব্দে তার প্রয়োগ থাকলেও এই

বর্ণগুলির পৃথক অস্তিত্ব নেই। আর যদি উচ্চারণ করার চেষ্টাও করা হয় তা মূল ধ্বনি হবে না। অবশ্য 'স' ধ্বনির প্রয়োগ আমরা দেখি মূলত কিছু যুক্ত ব্যঞ্জনের সঙ্গে বা বিদেশী শব্দে।

১.৭ ধ্বনি ও তার উচ্চারণ

আমাদের স্বরধ্বনি কয়টি, এই প্রশ্নের উত্তর সবারই জানা, তা হল সাতটি ('ই', 'উ', 'এ', 'ও', 'অ্যা', 'অ', 'আ')। আমাদের মনে রাখতে হবে যে আমাদের আরো সাতটি নাসিক্য মৌলিক স্বরধ্বনি ('ইঁ', 'উঁ', 'এঁ', 'ওঁ', 'অ্যাঁ', 'অ', 'আ') আছে। অর্ধ স্বরধ্বনি চারটি ('ই','উ' 'এ', 'ও')। যৌগিক স্বরধ্বনি বর্ণমালায় দুটি ('ঐ' আর 'ঔ') থাকলেও সাধারণত আরো প্রায় সতেরটি যৌগিক স্বর আমরা উচ্চারণ করি। এই ধ্বনিগুলির মধ্যে 'অ' ধ্বনিটির উচ্চারণ অধিকাংশ ভাষায় নেই (ওড়িআ ও অসমিয়াতে আছে)। এই 'অ' ধ্বনিটি অবাঙালিদের বোঝানো অসুবিধার। সংস্কৃতেও 'অ' ধ্বনিটি ছিল না। সংস্কৃতে এই ধ্বনিটির উচ্চারণ হ্রস্ব 'আ' ধ্বনির মতো ছিল। আবার 'অ্যা' ধ্বনিটিও ছিল না পরে এসেছে। 'এ' বর্ণটি দিয়ে 'অ্যা' ধ্বনিটি অনেকক্ষেত্রে লেখা হলেও দুটি ধ্বনি আলাদা। যেমন— 'খেয়ে দেখো' আর 'খেয়ে দ্যাখো'। বোঝাই যাচ্ছে শুধুমাত্র একটি ধ্বনির তফাতেই মানে বদলে যাচ্ছে। ইংরাজিতে আবার 'আ' ও 'অ্যা' ধ্বনি দুটি একই বর্ণ দিয়ে লেখা হয়, তা হল 'a' । যেমন, যখন Cat বলি তখন 'অ্যা' আবার 'Car' বললে 'আ'। অর্থাৎ কোনো ইংরেজ বাংলা শিখলে তারা 'এলো' শব্দটিকে উচ্চারণ করতে পারে 'আলো'। আবার আমার 'ক' আর 'খ' আলাদা ধ্বনি কিন্তু ইংরাজিতে তা নয়। ওরা Cat এর উচ্চারণ করে খ্যাট, Cash এর উচ্চারণ করে 'খ্যাশ' কিন্তু Trick এর ক্ষেত্রে উচ্চারণ করবে 'ট্রিক'। অর্থাৎ ইংরাজিতে শব্দের প্রথমে 'খ' শেষে 'ক' বসছে। ইংরেজরা তাই শব্দের প্রথমে 'ক' বসলে 'ক' কে চিনতে পারবে না তাই 'খ' উচ্চারণ করবে। তাই ওরা হয়তো বাংলা শব্দ 'কালো' কে 'খালো' বলবে। আবার আমাদের ভাষায় মহাপ্রাণ ধ্বনি থাকলেও দ্রাবিড় ভাষাগুলিতে নেই। ওরা মহাপ্রাণ ধ্বনিগুলিকে চিনতেই পারবে না প্রথমে। তাই ওরা 'ডাকা' আর 'ঢাকা' র মধ্যে তফাৎ করতে পারবে না। ওরা 'ঢাকা'-কে 'ডাকা' বলবে। কিন্তু এতে আবার আমাদের অসুবিধা। কারণ আমাদের দুটি পৃথক ধ্বনি ও দুটি ধ্বনির প্রয়োগে অর্থেরও পার্থক্য হয়[6]। ভাষা শিক্ষার প্রথম ধাপে ধ্বনি চেনানো শিক্ষকের সবচেয়ে পরিশ্রমের কাজ। এক্ষেত্রে একটু সুবিধা হয় যদি শিক্ষক আগে থেকেই শিক্ষার্থীর মাতৃভাষা সম্পর্কে আগে থেকে একটু গবেষণা করে নেন। যদিও বাস্তবে সেটি কতোটা সম্ভব প্রশ্ন আছে।

১.৮ শব্দ

ভাষা শিক্ষার সবচেয়ে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ একটি বিষয় হল শব্দ চিনতে শেখা। সর্বনামগুলি যেহেতু মাত্র কয়েকটি তাই সেগুলি আগে চিনতে শিখে গেলে সুবিধা হয়। শুধু তাই নয় তাই দিয়ে দু একটি বাক্য রচনা করতেও তারা শিখে যাবে। যেমন—আমি রাজশেখরণ, তুমি বিপ্লব, সে জয়া ইত্যাদি। এর পরে খুব পরিচিত ও দৈনন্দিন ব্যবহার্য শব্দগুলি আগে জানাতে হবে। এক্ষেত্রে একই ধরনের শব্দগুলিকে শিক্ষার্থীকে শেখালে সুবিধা হয়। যেমন— কথা, অকথা, কুকথা, কথারীতি, কথাহীন ইত্যাদি। এই শব্দগুলিতে দেখা যাচ্ছে 'কথা' শব্দটিকে চিনলেই তার সামনে পিছনে প্রত্যয় বসিয়ে নতুন শব্দ বানিয়ে নিতে পারছে। এরকম ১০০০ খানেক বাংলা শব্দ শিখে নিতে পারলে তাহলে দৈনন্দিন যে শব্দগুলি ব্যবহার করি তাতে কাজ চলে যাবে।

[6] ভাষা বিজ্ঞানের পরিভাষায় এরা পৃথক ফোনিম।

১.৯ ক্রিয়াপদ

বাংলা ক্রিয়াপদ চার প্রকার। মৌলিক ক্রিয়া (কর, লেখ, পড় ইত্যাদি), সাধিত ক্রিয়া (খাওয়া, হাসা ইত্যাদি), যুক্ত ক্রিয়া (ব্যবহার কর ইত্যাদি) ও যৌগিক ক্রিয়া (বলে ফেল, লিখে ফেল ইত্যাদি)। বাংলা ক্রিয়াপদের অনেক বৈচিত্র্য আছে। বাংলা ক্রিয়াপদে ধাতুর পরে ভাব প্রকার বিভক্তি, কাল বিভক্তি ও পুরুষ বিভক্তির প্রয়োগ আমরা দেখি। বাংলা ক্রিয়াপদ যেমনটা হয়—{দেখ(ধাতু) + আ(প্রত্যয়)} ধাতু + {চ্ছ(প্রকার বিভক্তি)+ ইল(কাল বিভক্তি)+ আম(পুরুষ বিভক্তি)} দেখাচ্ছিলাম। ধাতুর পরে যেহেতু প্রত্যয় যুক্ত হয়ে একটি নতুন ধাতুও তারপর বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয়ে একটি ক্রিয়াপদ তৈরি হয়েছে তাই এটি একটি প্রযোজক ক্রিয়া। এতগুলি বিভক্তি প্রয়োগ হয় বলে একটি ধাতু থেকে প্রায় ৬০ রকম ক্রিয়াপদ তৈরি হয়। একটি ছকের সাহায্য নিলে বোঝা যাবে বাংলা ক্রিয়ার কত বৈচিত্র্য আছে। যেমন--

ধাতু: লেখ

	আমি/আমরা	তুই/তোরা	তুমি/তোমরা	আপনি/আপনারা	সে/তারা	তিনি/তাঁরা
বর্তমান অনুজ্ঞা		লেখ	লেখ-ও	লিখ-উন	লিখ-উক	লিখ-উক
সাধারণ বর্তমান	লিখ-ই	লিখ-ইস	লেখ-ও	লেখ-এন	লেখ-এ	লেখ-এন
ঘটমান বর্তমান	লিখ-ছ-ই	লিখ-ছ-ইস	লিখ-ছ-ও	লিখ-ছ-এন	লিখ-ছ-এ	লিখ-ছ-এন
পুরাঘটিত বর্তমান	লিখ-এ-ছ-ই	লিখ-এ-ছ-ইস	লিখ-এ-ছ-ও	লিখ-এ-ছ-এন	লিখ-এ-ছ-এ	লিখ-এ-ছ-এন

	আমি/আমরা	তুই/তোরা	তুমি/তোমরা	আপনি/আপনারা	সে/তারা	তিনি/তাঁরা
সাধারণ অতীত	লিখ-ল-আম	লিখ-ল-ই	লিখ-ল-এ	লিখ-ল-এন	লিখ-ল-ও	লিখ-ল-এন
ঘটমান অতীত	লিখ-ছি-ল-আম	লিখ-ছি-ল-ই (স)	লিখ-ছি-ল-এ	লিখ-ছি-ল-এন	লিখ-ছি-ল-ও	লিখ-ছি-ল-এন
পুরাঘটিত-অতীত	লিখ-এ-ছি-ল-আম	লিখ-এ-ছি-ল-ই(স)	লিখ-এ-ছি-ল-এ	লিখ-এ-ছি-ল-এন	লিখ-এ-ছি-ল-ও	লিখ-এ-ছি-ল-এন
নিত্তবৃত্ত অতীত	লিখ-ত-আম	লিখ-ত-ই(স)	লিখ-ত-এ	লিখ-ত-এন	লিখ-ত-ও	লিখ-ত-এন

	আমি/আমরা	তুই/তোরা	তুমি/তোমরা	আপনি/আপনারা	সে/তারা	তিনি/তাঁরা
সাধারণ ভবিষ্যত	লিখ-ব-ও	লিখ-ব-ই	লিখ-ব-এ	লিখ-ব-এন	লিখ-ব-এ	লিখ-ব-এ

ভবিষ্যত অনুজ্ঞা		লিখ-ইস	লিখ-ও	লিখ-ব-এন		

বাংলা ক্রিয়াপদের এই বৈচিত্র্যগুলি দ্বিতীয় ভাষা শিক্ষার্থীর মনে রাখা খুব শক্ত। কিন্তু ক্রিয়াপদের দু তিনটি তালিকা যদি শিক্ষার্থী মনে রাখতে পারে তাহলে অন্যান্য ক্রিয়াপদগুলি কীভাবে পাল্টাবে সেটা বুঝতে পারবে।

১.১০ বিশেষ্যের বিভক্তি

কারক শব্দটি এখানে বললাম না সচেতন ভাবেই। কারণ আমার মনে হয় প্রাথমিক ভাবে কারক চিহ্নিতকরণের থেকেও আমরা যদি শিক্ষার্থীকে বিশেষ্যপদে কীভাবে বিভক্তিগুলি যুক্ত হয় তার একটি বিবরণ যদি আমরা দিয়ে দিই তাহলে বেশি সুবিধা হবে। বাংলা ভাষায় কারক প্রকাশিত হয় চার রকম ভাবে-- বিভক্তিহীন ভাবে[7], বিভক্তিযুক্ত হয়ে, বিভক্তিহীন ও অনুসর্গ যুক্ত হয়ে এবং বিভক্তিযুক্ত ও অনুসর্গ যুক্ত হয়ে। বিষয়টিকে আরো নির্দিষ্টভাবে দেখলে কারক চিহ্নিত পদের বিন্যাস হয় নিম্নরূপ—

শব্দ+(বিভক্তি)+(অনুসর্গ)

যেমন, ‘বাড়ি’[8] শব্দটির বিন্যাস হবে—(বাড়ি+ 0+0); ‘বাড়ির’ পদটির বিন্যাস হবে--(বাড়ি+র+0); ‘বাড়ির কাছে’ পদগুচ্ছের বিন্যাস হবে--(বাড়ি+র+কাছে); ‘বাড়ি থেকে’--(বাড়ি+ 0+ থেকে)। আমাদের বিভক্তির সংখ্যা চারটি, সেগুলি হল—‘ Ø’, ‘এ’, ‘কে’ ও ‘র’

‘Ø’ (=শূন্য) বিভক্তি

- বাংলা ভাষায় অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই নামপদ বিভক্তিহীন থাকে। স্থান বোঝাতে বিভক্তি না হলেও চলে। যদি দেখা যায় স্থান নামটির শেষে স্বর ধ্বনি আছে। যেমন— আমি কলকাতা যাব।
- বাক্যের উদ্দেশ্য ও ক্রিয়ক (Agent) অনেকক্ষেত্রে বিভক্তিহীন থাকে। যেমন— রাম ফুটবল খেলছে। মা ছেলেকে ডাকছে।
- বাক্যের উদ্দেশ্য যখন ভোক্তা (Patient) হয়, তখন তা বিভক্তিহীন থাকে। যেমন—বরফ গলছে। বাতাস বইছে।
- অপ্রাণীবাচক কর্মে বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয় না। যেমন— রাম বই পড়ছে। আমি ফুটবল খেলছি।
- বাক্যের কর্তাপূরক (Subject Compliment) বিভক্তিহীন থাকে। যেমন— শ্যামল অধ্যাপক হয়েছে। রবি আমার ভাই
- বাক্যের কর্মপূরকও (Object Compliment) বিভক্তিহীন। যেমন—আমরা পাথরকে দেবতা মেনেছি। পাথরকে সংস্কৃত ভাষায় প্রস্তর বলে।
- পূর্বেই বলা হয়েছে কিছু কিছু ক্ষেত্রে লক্ষ্য (Destination) বিভক্তিহীনভাবে বাক্যে ব্যবহৃত হয়। যেমন— শ্যামল দিল্লি যাবে। আমি বাড়ি যাব।
- দু একটি ক্ষেত্রে অবস্থান বোঝাতে নামপদে বিভক্তিহীন রূপ দেখা যায়। যেমন— অবনী বাড়ি আছো?

[7] বিভক্তিহীন মানে শূন্য বিভক্তিকে বোঝানো হয়েছে, যেখানে কোনো চিহ্ন নেই।

[8] উদাহরণ--‘রাম বাড়ি আছে’

বিশেষ করে 'বাড়ি' শব্দটির সঙ্গে বিভক্তি অনাবশ্যক। কিন্তু বেশির ভাগ ক্ষেত্রে এই নিয়ম কার্যকর হয় না। অর্থাৎ বিভক্তি ছাড়া এই ধরনের অর্থগত ভূমিকা প্রকাশ পায় না। যেমন— সে বারান্দায় আছে। আমি কলকাতাতে আছি।

'-এ' বিভক্তি

সাধারণত '-এ' বিভক্তিকে অধিকরণ কারকের বিভক্তি বলা হয়। '-তে' ও '-য়' বিভক্তি '-এ' বিভক্তিরই সহরূপ হিসাবে ধরা হয়। কোন্ কোন্ ক্ষেত্রে '-এ' বিভক্তি, '-তে' ও '-য়'/ '-য়ে' বিভক্তি রূপে প্রকাশিত হয়, তা বিশ্লেষণ করা যেতে পারে।

- স্বরান্ত একদল শব্দের সঙ্গে '-য়'/ '-য়ে' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— ঘিয়ে, দুয়ে (দুই) ইত্যাদি
- স্বরান্ত দ্বিদল ও তার বেশি দলযুক্ত শব্দের শেষে উচ্চ স্বরধ্বনি থাকলে '-তে' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয়। যেমন—কাশিতে, মংপুতে, শিরিটিতে ইত্যাদি।
- স্বরান্ত দ্বিদল ও তার বেশি দলযুক্ত শব্দের শেষে উচ্চ-মধ্য ও নিম্ন স্বরধ্বনি থাকলে '-য়' বা '-তে' দুই-ই হতে পারে। যেমন—আলোয়/আলোতে, ছেলেয়/ছেলেতে, পুনেয়/পুনেতে, কলম্বোয়/কলম্বোতে, কলকাতায়/কলকাতাতে ইত্যাদি।
- ব্যঞ্জনান্ত শব্দের শেষে সাধারণত '-এ' বা '-এতে' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয়। যেমন—বাগানে/ বাগানেতে, মাঠে/ মাঠেতে
- অর্ধস্বরান্ত শব্দের শেষে 'য়' বা 'তে' দুটি বিভক্তিই ব্যবহৃত হতে পারে। যেমন—দুবাইয়ে/দুবাইতে, মুম্বাইয়ে/মুম্বাইতে ইত্যাদি।

বাক্যে '-এ' বিভক্তি যে অর্থগত ভূমিকা পালন করে তা হল—

- অবস্থান বোঝাতে '-এ' বিভক্তি ব্যবহৃত হয়। যেমন— রাম ঘরে যাচ্ছে। শ্যামল স্কুলে যাচ্ছে।
- কিছু কিছু ক্ষেত্রে উদ্দেশ্য অনির্দিষ্ট ও জাতিবাচক হলে '-এ' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয়। যেমন—বিড়ালে দুধ খেয়েছে। পাগলে কি না বলে।
- আমি বা তুমি শব্দের সঙ্গে '-কে' বিকল্পে '-এ' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হলে সেই পদ কর্ম ও ভোক্তা হয়। যেমন— আমি তোমায় ডাকছি। আমি তোমায় পেনটা দেব।

'-কে' বিভক্তি

- মনুষ্যবাচক কর্ম পদে '-কে' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— মা ছেলেকে মারল। মা ছেলেকে দুধ খাওয়াচ্ছেন।
- কিছু কিছু ক্রিয়াপদের[9] কর্তা অংশে '-কে' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— আমাকে যেতে হবে। দুঃখী মানুষকে দুঃখের মধ্যেও হাসতে হয়।
- নামপদ প্রাণীবাচক কিন্তু মনুষ্যেতর হলে এবং তা যদি নির্দিষ্টতা বোঝায় সেক্ষেত্রে '-কে' বিভক্তির প্রয়োগ হয়। যেমন— সে পাখিটাকে মেরেছে। কিন্তু-- সে পাখি মেরেছে।
- 'ভয় পাওয়া' ক্রিয়াপদের ভয়ের উৎস বোঝাতে '-কে' বিভক্তি ব্যবহৃত হয়। যেমন— মানুষ বাঘকে ভয় পায়। রামু সাপকে ভয় পায়।

[9] বিশেষ করে (ধাতু+তে+হয়/ধাতু) ধরনের ক্রিয়া পদ। যেমন— যেতে হবে, করতে হবে ইত্যাদি।

- অপ্রাণীবাচক কর্মে '-কে' বিভক্তি সাধারণত ব্যবহৃত হয় না। কিন্তু বিশেষ বিশেষ ক্ষেত্রে অপ্রাণীবাচক কর্মেও '-কে' বিভক্তির প্রয়োগ মেলে। যেমন— আমরা আমাদের দেশকে ভালোবাসি। আমরা আমাদের ভাষাকে শ্রদ্ধা করি।
- কিছু কিছু ক্ষেত্রে '-কে' বিভক্তি অনুসর্গের সঙ্গে যুক্ত হয়ে বিশেষ্য পদবন্ধ গঠন করে। যেমন—রামকে দিয়ে এ কাজ হবে না। শ্যামলকে দিয়ে লেখানো গেল না।

'-র' বিভক্তি

'-র' বিভক্তিকে সাধারণত সম্বন্ধ পদের বিভক্তি বলা হয়। কিন্তু কিছু ক্ষেত্রে সম্বন্ধ পদ ছাড়াও অনুসর্গগুলির পূর্ববর্তী পদে '-র' বিভক্তির ব্যবহার পাওয়া যায়। '-র' বিভক্তির একটি সহরূপ হল '-এর'। তাছাড়া 'র' যুক্ত '-কার', '-কের', ও '-দের' বিভক্তিগুলি পাওয়া যায়। এই বিভক্তিগুলি কোন প্রেক্ষিতে বাক্যে ব্যবহৃত হয়, তা পর্যালোচনা করা যেতে পারে।

- স্বরান্ত শব্দের সঙ্গে '-র' যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— দিদির, বাবার, কাকার ইত্যাদি
- একদল স্বরান্ত শব্দের সঙ্গে '-এর' যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— ঝিয়ের, মায়ের, চায়ের ইত্যাদি
- অর্ধস্বরান্ত শব্দের সঙ্গে '-এর' যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— ভাইয়ের, বৌয়ের, মৌয়ের ইত্যাদি
- ব্যঞ্জনান্ত শব্দের সঙ্গে '-এর' হয়। যেমন— রামের, শ্যামলের, জাহাজের ইত্যাদি
- কিছু কিছু ক্ষেত্রে স্থান বা কালবাচক শব্দের সঙ্গে '-কার' যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— এখানকার, সেখানকার, এখনকার, তখনকার ইত্যাদি
- কিছু কিছু ক্ষেত্রে আবার 'কার', 'কের' রূপে প্রকাশিত হয়। যেমন— আজকের, কালকের
- কিছু কিছু ক্ষেত্রে বহুবচনের '-দের' বিভক্তি কারক বোঝাতে ব্যবহৃত হয়। কখনো আবার '-কে' বিভক্তি '-দের'-এর পরে বসে কারক অর্থ প্রকাশ করে। সেক্ষেত্রে '-দের' শুধুমাত্র বহুবচনের বিভক্তি হয়েই অবস্থান করে। যেমন— শিক্ষক ছাত্রদের মারছেন/ শিক্ষক ছাত্রদেরকে মারছেন।

বাক্যে '-র' বিভক্তি যে অর্থগত ভূমিকা পালন করে তা হল—

- বাক্যের সম্বন্ধ পদ গঠনের মাধ্যমে বিশেষ্য পদবন্ধ গঠনে ভূমিকা নেয় '-র' বিভক্তি। যেমন— এটা আমার বই। এটা রাজার বাড়ি।
- বাক্যে অনুসর্গের ব্যবহার হলে সাধারণত তা '-র' বা '-এর'-এর বিভক্তির পরে বসে কারক প্রকাশ করে। অর্থাৎ শব্দের সঙ্গে অনুসর্গের যোগ ঘটাতে '-র' বা '-এর' বিভক্তির ব্যবহার করা হয়। যেমন— রামের দ্বারা এই কাজ হবে না। দুই-এর থেকে তিন বেশি।
- বিশেষণ বোঝাতে '-র' বিভক্তি যুক্ত হয় । যেমন— এই নীল রঙের শাড়িটা সুন্দর। রাজারা সোনার থালায় ভাত খায়।

বাংলা ভাষায় বিভক্তি ছাড়াও বাক্যে অনুসর্গের একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা আছে। প্রথাগত ব্যাকরণে 'দ্বারা', 'দিয়ে', 'হতে', 'থেকে', 'জন্য' অনুসর্গগুলিকে কারক নির্দেশক হিসাবে মান্যতা দেওয়া হয়েছে। বাংলায় আরও অনেক অনুসর্গ আছে যারা পৃথক অর্থগত ভূমিকা পালন করে, যেমন— সঙ্গে, কাছে, আগে, পরে, করে, সামনে, পিছনে ইত্যাদি। অনুসর্গগুলি সাধারণত একটি বিভক্তির সঙ্গে যুক্ত হয়ে ব্যবহৃত হয়। বিভক্তিটি অনেক ক্ষেত্রে '-র', '-এর' বা '-কে' হয়। এই প্রসঙ্গে কয়েকটি অনুসর্গের অন্বয়গত ভূমিকা বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখা যেতে পারে।

- কর্মবাচ্যে অনেক সময় ‘দ্বারা’ বা ‘দিয়ে’ ব্যবহৃত হয়। যেমন—আমার দ্বারা একাজ হবে না। আমাকে দিয়ে একাজ হবে না।
- করণ অর্থে দ্বারা বা দিয়ে যুক্ত হয়। যেমন— ছুরি দিয়ে ফল কাটো। বুদ্ধির দ্বারা অসাধ্য সাধন করা যায়।
- গন্তব্যের পথ অথবা বিকল্প পথ বোঝাতে ‘দিয়ে’ অনুসর্গ যুক্ত হয়। যেমন—আমি শিয়ালদা দিয়ে হাওড়া গেলাম। আমি রাস্তা দিয়ে হাঁটছি।
- স্থানান্তর, উৎপন্ন, গৃহীত, দৃষ্ট ইত্যাদি বোঝাতে ‘-হতে’ বা ‘থেকে’ অনুসর্গ যুক্ত হয়। যেমন—গাছ থেকে ফল পড়ে। সাগর থেকে ঝিনুক পাওয়া যায়।
- বাক্যে ‘নিমিত্ত’ অর্থে অনেক সময় ‘জন্য’ অনুসর্গের প্রয়োগ দেখা যায়। যেমন— ঠাকুরের জন্য সন্দেশ আনো। স্নানের জন্য জল নেই।
- ‘সহ’ অর্থে ‘সঙ্গে’ অনুসর্গের প্রয়োগ দেখা যায়। যেমন— রামের সঙ্গে রহিম যাবে। আমার সঙ্গে কেউ নেই।

১.১১ বাক্য

কয়েকটি শব্দ জুড়ে বাক্য তৈরি হয়। আমরা জানি গঠনের দিক থেকে বাক্য তিনধরনের, সরল বাক্য, জটিল বাক্য ও যৌগিক বাক্য। সরল বাক্য অনেক সময় ক্রিয়াহীন হতে পারে, যেমন— ‘তার নাম কমল’। কখনো আবার যৌগিক বাক্যের একটি অংশে ক্রিয়া থাকে না, যেমন—আমি বাড়ি যাবো, রাজু কলেজে। দেখা যায় প্রথম খন্ডবাক্যে ক্রিয়া উপস্থিত থাকলে পরেরটায় অনেকসময় থাকে না। যৌগিক বাক্যে অনেকসময় একটি ক্রিয়াপদই অপরটির অনুরূপ হতে পারে। যেমন—সীতা রান্না করছে আবার শ্যামলও রান্না করছে। জটিল বাক্যে একটি বাক্য আবার অপরটির ওপর নির্ভর করে থাকে , যাকে বাদ দেওয়া সম্ভব হয় না। যেমন— তুমি যদি সিনেমা দেখতে না যাও তাহলে আমি যাব না। শিক্ষার্থীদের বাক্যের এই শ্রেণিগুলি বোঝানোর পাশাপাশি প্রশ্নবাচক ও ‘না’ বাচক বাক্যগুলির গঠনও শেখানো দরকার। তুমি যাবে না। প্রশ্ন বাচক বাক্য গঠন করতে হলে ‘কি, কী, কবে , কোথায় ইত্যাদি প্রশ্নবাচক শব্দের ব্যবহার করি। এক্ষেত্রে যে কোনো একটি বাক্য বলার পরই তার ‘না’ বাচক ও প্রশ্নবাচক বাক্যটি শিখিয়ে দেওয়া দরকার। যেমন— তুমি যাবে। / তুমি যাবে না।/ তুমি কি যাবে?

বাংলা ভাষা শেখাতে হলে শিক্ষককে ভাষার জটিলতার জায়গাগুলি যেগুলিতে ভ্রান্তি তৈরি হতে পারে তা শেখাতে হবে। সবচেয়ে বেশি সমস্যা যেখানে হয় তা হল শিক্ষার্থী যে ভাষাই শিখুক না কেন তার মাতৃভাষার গঠন চাপিয়ে দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করবে দ্বিতীয় ভাষায়। শিক্ষককে এই বিষয়ে সচেতন থাকতে হবে। বাংলা ব্যাকরণের বিস্তারিত আলোচনা না করা হলেও এই সন্দর্ভে সংক্ষেপে বাংলা ভাষা শেখানোর জরুরি ও প্রয়োজনীয় বিষয়গুলিকেই গুরুত্ব দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। সবশেষে ভাষা শিক্ষায় সাফল্য শিক্ষার্থীর আগ্রহের ওপর নির্ভর করে। শিক্ষকের পাশাপাশি শিক্ষার্থীর দায়বদ্ধতাও খুব প্রাসঙ্গিক।

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Mara Language and Ethnic Identity: An Outline

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ABSTRACT

Mara (Lakher) is primarily spoken in the Saiha (Siaha) district of Mizoram in India and in the Chin Hills of Myanmar. In Mizoram, there are various languages and ethnic groups but they all are termed under the generic term ‘Mizo’. The Mara language is distinct in its phonological and morpho-syntactical features from its neighbouring languages. The speech community exhibits a vivid sense of customs and cultural patterns. Though they share a common thread with the ‘Mizo’ living standards and belief system, they also retain their uniqueness through their lifestyle and cultural endorsement. This makes the study on the Mara (Lakher) language and culture unique and interesting.

This paper aims to examine the explicit or implicit reflections on the ‘linguistic universe’ – including language use, linguistic status and language attitude – of the Mara language in Mizoram. Often, various languages show prestige or stigma which emerges from language attitudes based on linguistic prejudice and stereotyping. The present paper is an attempt to highlight the status of the Mara language and community amongst the Kuki-Chin group against this backdrop.

The survival of the minority languages is closely bound up with the preservation or affirmation of a distinct ethnic identity and culture. That is why there is an urgent requirement towards a detailed enquiry regarding the social dynamics of language maintenance and shift in case of a ‘minor’ language like Mara. This paper will make an attempt in that direction.

1. Introduction

Mizoram is the north-eastern most northeastern state in India bordering Myanmar to the east and the south and with Bangladesh to the west on the international front and with Manipur in the northeast, Assam in the north and Tripura in the northwest. According to the Census 2011, there are eight districts in Mizoram, namely, Aizawl, Lunglei, Champhai, Lungtlawi, Mamit, Kolasib, Serrachip, and Saiha.

It is a land of shared beliefs, culture and ethos. The people of Mizoram are collectively called as Mizo. However, it is interesting to note that the term ‘Mizo’ is merely an umbrella term under which we find the conglomeration of the various languages and dialects such as the Hmar, Ralte,

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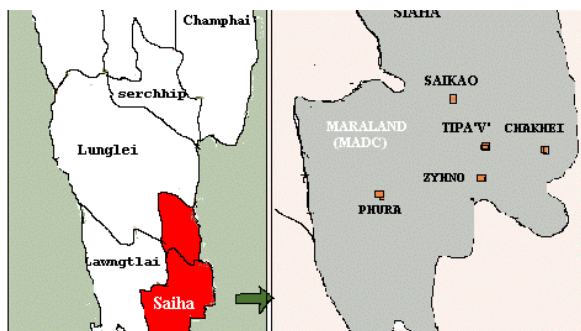
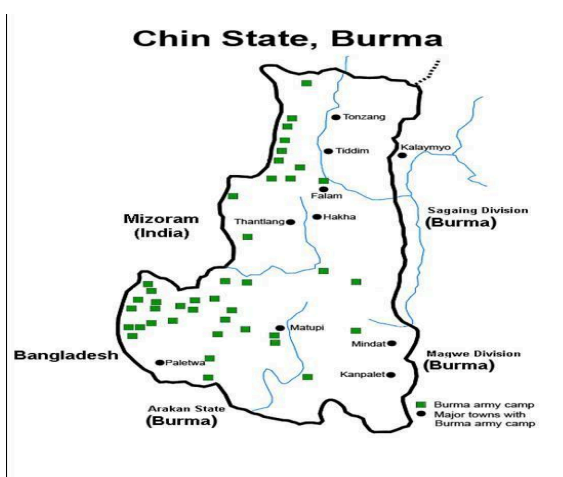
Lai (Pawi), (Duhlian) Lushei, Mara (Lakher), Chakma, Pang, Paite etc. The state official language is Duhlian (Lushei) and alongwith English is the lingua franca amongst all the ethnic communities in Mizoram.

The other languages and dialects continue to be used but amongst the respective ethno-linguistic groups. This has often led to their subjugation and in turn to their striving for sustenance and growth.

1.1. ***Mara Language and the people:***

Mara (Lakher) is spoken in the Mara Autonomous District of Mizoram (MADC), India, and in the south Haka sub-division of the Chin Hills of Myanmar. According to the Census Report 2011, the population of the Mara people from MADC, Mizoram is 56, 574. The *Ethnologue* estimates the population of the Mara people in Myanmar as 26,000.

Map 1. Map2.

The area belonging to the Mara people is collectively called as the Maraland. It is located in the southern part of Mizoram State, India and in the southern part of the Chin State in Myanmar. Before the Independence of India in 1947, and of Myanmar in 1948, the Maraland was ruled by the British.

With the independence of these two countries, the Maraland was politically divided into two parts – India Maraland (also called as West Maraland) and Myanmar Maraland (called as the East Maraland).

East Maraland has a total area of 11,200 square miles (approximately). It is located to the north-west side of Myanmar and is bordered by Matu and Zotung in the east; Haka and Thangtlang in the north; West Maraland and Bangladesh in the west and Khumi and Arakan State in the south. There are three different townships in East Maraland -Thantlang, Matupi and Paletwa.

The West Maraland is situated in the southern part of Mizoram, it covers an area of about 1445 square kilometres. It is flanked on the north and on the east by the Lai Autonomous District of Mizoram and on the east and the south by the Chin State of Myanmar. West Maraland has its own administration in the name of 'Mara Autonomous District Council' (MADC) under the

India Government. The West Maraland is also alternatively called as Siaha (pronounced as *Saiha* by the Lushei).

In the Mara reih (Mara language), *siaha* is a compound word of two syllables – *sia* meaning 'elephant' and *ha* meaning 'tooth' and altogether the word means 'elephant tooth'. The Lushai word '*saiha'* also means the same – *sai* meaning 'elephant' and *ha* meaning 'tooth'. The place is so called because historically, a large amount of elephant teeth were found in the area.[2]

1.2.Mara Ethnic Identity

The Maras retain a separate ethnic identity through their language and customs. In the early period, the Maras were known to the outside world as Mara, Lakher, Shendu or Shandu, Maring, Zyu or Zho, Tlosai, Khongzai, etc. These various names for the Mara people have been used by authorities and scholars in various references and a few historical documents on the studies of the Indo-Burman people.

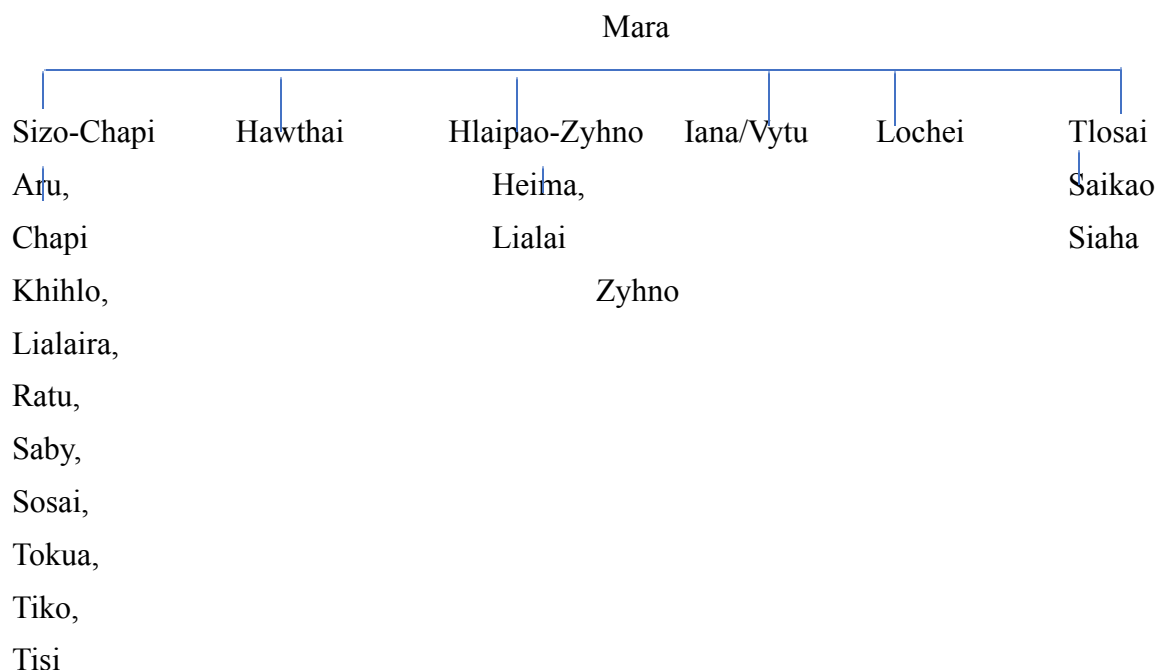
The Maras are known as *Lakher* in Mizoram. According to Lehman (1970), the name *Lakher* is the word for a Mara-manufactured cotton gin that was popular in neighbouring language communities. The term appears to have originated from the practice of plucking cotton. The Lushais used to pluck cotton from the fruit with their hands whereas the *Lakhers* did it with a stick. The name *Lakher* came from this method of plucking cotton with a stick, *la* meaning 'cotton' and *kher* meaning 'to pluck or remove with a stick'. Entering Mara territory from the Lushei direction, the British adopted the term *Lakher* during the British invasion starting in 1886 (Lehman, 1970). This term is also found to be used in the seminal works on Mara by Englishmen Lorrain (1951), Savidge (1908), and Parry (1932).

The Lusei (Mizo), the Lai (Pawi) and the Mara (Lakher) are from the conglomerate tribe of the Zo ethnic group of people who trace their identity to Chhinlung, Puk or Khul. They are related linguistically, socially and ethnically. However, owing to their strong perception of identity, the Lai (Pawi) and the Mara (Lakher) were granted respective autonomous district councils. As such, the Mara Autonomous District Council was born in 1987 under the Sixth Schedule Amendment[3] of Indian Constitution after a long political struggle.

The word Mara is used as generic term for the Mara community. Under the generic term 'Mara', we find territorial sub-groups such as the Sizo-Chapi, Hawthai, Hlaipao-Zyhno, Iana or Vytu, Lochei and Tlosai. The Sizo sub-group includes Aru, Chapi Khihlo, Lialaira, Ratu, Saby, Sosai, Tokua, Tiko, Tisi, etc. According to Dr. K. Zohra[4], the Hlaipao has a number of sub-groups such as the Heima, Lialai and Zyhno. The Tlosai sub-group are the Saikao and Siaha. The Hawthai, Lochei and Iana had no sub-groups.

[2] www.siaha.nic.in

[3] https://madc.mizoram.gov.in/

[4] Zohra K. (1994): The Maras of the Mizoram: A Study of their History and Culture, Guwahati University

According to the *Ethnologue*, there are six principal groups of Lakhers (Mara), each with a number of sub-clans. The six principal groups are Tlongsai (Tlosaih), Hawthai, Zyhno, Sabeu, Lialai and Heima. Some resources like Wikipedia and Revolvy claim that the Mara has around 5 dialects, namely, the Tlosaih, the Hawthai, the Zyhno, the Chapi and the Vytu. Tlosaih is the official language of Mara and is used as a lingua franca amongst the Mara people of Mizoram.

The *Ethnologue* states that the people of Tlongsai (Tlosaih) group originated at Laisai in Myanmar. They mostly live at Serkawr, Saiha, Latawh, Lawngban, Tongkolong, Lawngdah, Isa, Longmasu and Naubawk.

The Hawthai people came from Haka and migrated to the Lushai Hills after the Tlongsais (Tlosaih). They are settled at Tuisi, Theiri, Theiva and Chhuerlung and some other villages.

The Zyhno are mostly settled at Savang, Kaisch, Vabia, Laki and Chheihlu.

The Sabeu people are said to have originated in Haka. The villages they occupy now are Chapui, Mawhrs and Satlawng.

The Heima and the Lialai groups came to the Lakher (Mara) land from the Arakan. These people are closely allied to the Sabeus.

In the Lakher (Mara) region there are a number of villages which are not inhabited by original Lakhers, but by some people of mixed origin of Lakhers (Mara) and Pawis (Lai). These villages are Ainak, Siata, Lungbun, etc. The sub-groups of the Lakher people possess their own dialects, which differ in varying degrees from each other. The four principal dialects are Tlosai (Tlosaih), Zyhno, Sabeu and Hawthai. Of these dialects, Tlosai (Tlosaih) is the one most commonly used and is spoken by the largest number of Lakhers.

1.3.*THE STATUS OF MARA IN MIZORAM*:

The Mara, one of the ethnic tribes of Mizoram, is mainly concentrated in the Southern parts of the State of Mizoram. A significant number of the Mara population are also settled in neighbouring state of Myanmar.

Source : https://madc.mizoram.gov.in/uploads/attachments/ebdb08a9ca581b80312f18e584f43ded/posts-149-powerpoint-presentation-on-functions-and-achievements-of-madc.pdf

Ethnicity amongst the Mara (Lakher) was and continues to be strong till date. One reason is that they were looked after by separate Christian Missionaries who developed the Mara script for them. Also geographically, the Mara (Laker) villages are located in a compact and isolated area (unlike the Lai (Pawi)) which helped in the retention of their language, culture and ethnic awareness. They were not influenced by the Lushei (Mizo) language and social behaviours.

Today we find the Mara (Lakher) people equally sensitive to their ethnic awareness and identity. All the Mara (Lakher) villages still speak the Mara language. They already had a parallel District Council, namely the Mara Freedom Party (MFP) in 1963. Till date, more than 80 percent of the people belong to the Evangelical Church of Maraland (ECM) and the Congregational Church of India (CCI). Besides these, the Mara Student Organisation (M.S.O), Mara Thyulia Pawl (MTP), Mara Chano Py (MCHP) are consciously active and constructive in promoting the language and the culture of the Mara (Lakher) people. The Mara Student Organisation (M.S.O) works for the welfare of the youths and especially students of the community. The Mara Thyulia Pawl (MTP) is a voluntary organisation that looks at the preservation of the ethnic identity, custom and culture of the Mara people. It also

strives to develop the Mara inhabited areas. The Mara Chano Py (MCHP) is a voluntary association that aims to look at the needs of women.

On the political front too, we find the Mara Democratic Front (MDF) which was established in 1966 to be quite active. It has already formed coalition governments with other political parties thrice in the Mizoram Legislative Assembly.

The Mara language is recognized in the school curriculum of Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC) and is a compulsory subject for all schools up to Class VII (Middle School) under Board of School Education, MADC. Consecrated efforts are being made by the Mara people to maintain and preserve their language. Mizo, the state official language is also learnt by the Mara speakers.

2.1. Research Objectives:

The objectives of this research are as follows:

- To adjudge the status of language vitality of the Mara language
- To understand the issues surrounding language contact, language maintenance and shift, language convergence, language attitudes etc.
- To understand the efforts taken up by the community in preserving the language

This will help us to understand and to provide an integrated view of the viable functionality of the language from sociological as well as linguistic standpoint.

2.2. Methodology

Vitality questionnaire was distributed to 25 participants belonging to Mara community in Siaha, Mizoram. The participants were carefully chosen giving equal priority to gender, age and education. An additional vitality questionnaire from UNESCO (Language Vitality and Endangerment 2003) was also administered to the participants.

3. Findings:

Findings indicate that the Mara language in Mizoram does not have high vitality. The elderly age group favours Mara and uses it mono-linguistically while the younger generation often tends to intermix Mara and Mizo in their speech. Many youths residing outside of Siaha have only a partial knowledge of Mara which they understand but cannot speak in. Mara language is still being practised as an identity marker among the older generations but declined in use among the younger generations. Nevertheless, the younger generation is still aware of the importance of their mother-tongue. Efforts to revitalise Mara are constantly executed and interest towards it has also increased in recent times.

The results show that the Mara language dominates in family, friendship, religion but in employment and education domains, Mizo is more on the dominating side. The language use patterns show functional differentiation into the Mara language as the ‘low language’ and Mizo as the ‘high language’. The respondents have positive attitudes towards the Mara language with respect to the use of the Mara language, the Mara identity and the intergenerational transmission of the Mara language. These are the strong positive attitudes that were observed. The marginally positive dimensions are instrumental use of the Mara language, social status of the Mara

speakers and prestige value of the Mara language. Inferential statistical analysis shows that the language attitudes are shaped by the education level. However, it also showed that language attitudes and the use of the Mara language are not significantly correlated.

The subjects' responses indicate that most Mara speakers in Mizoram speak Mizo as their secondary language. Another common language that Mara speakers show fluency is in English. Mizo as a secondary language may be learnt at home especially in the town area where access to media and to Mizo people is common. Mizo is also taught in schools. Often the medium of instruction in school is English and Mizo. English is learnt at school and for most Mara children it becomes their L_3. The older generation were not very familiar with English. The younger generation going to school and further on to higher education showed more proficiency in English. Though Hindi is taught in schools, mostly the children rarely adopt it and hence as a speaking language it is less counted for. Except for the few villages which border with the Lai Autonomous District, the Mara speakers show no speaking knowledge of Lai.

The average age for the subjects to learn Mizo is around 3-4 years while that for English is around 7 years when they enter school. However most of the elderly people have no knowledge of English.

4. DISCUSSION

Comparing the status of the Mara language with the other surrounding languages, we find that the Mara community could be labelled as a 'minority' speech community in Mizoram.
If we look at the linguistic profile of Mizoram, then we find that there are many languages which fall into the minority status. The Duhlian (Lushei) language is the state language and is subsequently called as the 'Mizo' language. However there are other languages which are now absorbed into the 'Mizo' umbrella. But languages like Mara are striving to get by. While many linguistic groups (like the Ralte, for example) have been absorbed into Mizo, Mara has always tried to retain its separate identity. Yet we see that like other minority languages in the state, Mara does not have a say in state mass media or writings. The speakers of Mara then end up using their language as an oral means in their day to day activities. Observations from my field study showed that though the various languages in Mizoram show high level of mutual intelligibility, the speakers of the minority group subconsciously shift to uttering the languages of the majority. The only books these minority languages possess are the Bible and the hymn books.

The following table better explains this phenomenon:

Name of the Tribe / Language	Population as per 2011 Census	Language Usage
Duhlian (Lushei) Mizo	802,763 speakers	Taught up to class XII standard as a subject of instruction. Mizo language is also used in higher studies. It is also used as a language of mass and media.
Hmar	17,981 speakers	Taught up to X standard under the Board of Education of Mizoram. It is also used as a means of mass media.
Lai (Pawi)	28,624 speakers	Lai (Pawi) is used in school as well as in radio or mass media, especially in the Lai Autonomous District
Mara (Lakher)	56,574 speakers	Mara (Lakher) is used in school as well as in radio or mass media, especially in the Mara Autonomous District

Today however, there has been a conscious effort among the minority speakers to revitalise their languages. The introduction of these languages into the school syllabus is one such step toward their revitalisation. Recent socio-political movements by the minority languages strive for their self-identification. We see this type of movements in the Kuki-Chin-Mizo-Maraic belt quite often. The move made by the Gangte speakers (Manipur) `to be grouped under the Mizo umbrella is an example of self-preservation. In the past the Kuki movement has seen the dominant Thadous demanding one umbrella term for all the 'new' Kuki-Chin languages. Recently, we have seen the Paite speakers in Mizoram consistently demanding for the Paite Autonomous Council. The languages belonging to the Kuki-Chin-Mizo-Maraic ethnic group are

generally mutually intelligible and yet they show unique characteristics linguistically as well as socially. The competing assertions of the ethnic identities between various groups leads to the perplex situations amongst the Kuki-Chin-Mizo-Maraic ethnic group. We observe this assertion even in Mizoram, and especially in the Mara ethnic group.

5. CONCLUSION:

The languages pertaining to the Kuki-Chin group often find themselves in a complex relationship due to the obscure knowledge of their history and background. Ethnic power and dominance rules their everyday existence. But with education and the zeal to survive as a separate linguistic group, many of the minority languages have started to assert themselves. This leads to tensions and many complexities and yet provides a ray of hope into their very existence. This paper hitherto preliminary, is just a glimpse into the socio-linguistic profile of the Mara language in Mizoram and its struggle for self-preservation and assertion.

Mara as a language has made a recent attempt to survive through various means of writings and publications and has been recently accepted into the school syllabus. Thus, it makes an interesting sample of the struggle and attempts of a minority language group in its socio-political and ethnic existence.

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Digital Archives for Documentation of Low-Resourced Languages

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A B S T R A C T

For many low-resourced languages, collecting digital data and archiving them for endangered language documentation and revitalization in the sense of Woodbury (2011) as the creation, annotation, preservation, and dissemination of transparent records of a language is an important work. Well-developed language data for digital archives can be significantly helpful in language documentation and revitalization of tribal languages, often considered low-resourced. Low-resourced languages, especially those spoken exclusively in Kerala, lack language data, which is a major barrier for linguists and language activists to archive them digitally for the next generation. This paper discusses real-world issues like skills, data format, and prioritizing the endangered languages for the purpose of digital archiving and developing language technology.

1. Introduction

It is difficult to imagine a modern language documentation approach that does not place digital preservation of endangered language materials among its top priorities (Ryan E. Henke & Andrea L. Berez-Kroeker, 2016). The establishment of specialized digital archives providing essential contributions to documenting and revitalizing of endangered languages is one of the developments arising from an increased focus on language documentation (Nathan, 2008). At least half of the world's 7,000 languages are considered to be endangered, are no longer taught to children as first languages, and, if nothing is done, will vanish within the next century as the older generations who currently speak them pass away (Krauss 1992; Grenoble 2011). The factors that contribute to language endangerment are complex, but they typically involve a process of language shift in which communities give up their smaller, more economically, politically, and socially powerful heritage tongues in favour of larger, more powerful tongues, most frequently those that are spoken by their neighbours and/or are supported by local, regional, or national governments and economic systems. Some communities actively work to revitalize their native tongues in an effort to slow down or stop the linguistic shift.

As Hiva Karim (2021) pointed out a 'Low-Resource Language' can be defined as a 'language with very limited annotated resources.' The biggest problem with low-resource languages in developing Natural Language Processing Systems (NLP) is that the resources needed for these languages are extremely difficult to attain. Challenges in natural language processing frequently involve speech recognition, natural language understanding, and natural language generation. Much of the language information and description are either unpublished, exist in only paper

format, or do not exist. In most scenarios, even when the language information of these languages exists in electronic format, it cannot be used simply because it is represented in a way that makes it extremely difficult or impossible to use. As a result, even raw text in a low-resource language can be challenging to obtain and use (Megerdoomian, Karine, & Dan Parvaz, 2008).

Languages are not merely a means of communication, they also carry specific traditions and cultures, the extinction of a language spoken in a particular part of the world because future generations lose a vital part of the culture. Hence, the language as a vulnerable aspect of cultural heritage must be carefully preserved from extinction (Wilford, 2007). Hence, the digital archives become an integral part of the language documentation. Saving endangered languages encompasses two major processes, i.e., preservation and revitalization. The former is concerned with the way of archiving language elements using a variety of strategies so that it can be employed as a lookup for the next generations, while the latter focuses on ensuring that the language is revived into the daily basics of a person's lives (Hill, 1989). As Berment (2004) pointed out, under-resourced languages refer to a language that lacks a unique writing system, lack of linguistic scholars, limited internet resources, electronic resources, and language technologies.

According to Shobhana Chelliah (2018), a common viewpoint in linguistics departments in India is that extended and varied data collection, such as that needed for the creation of a documentary corpus, is time-consuming and not useful for scientific publications. As a result, much of the language data collected is at the level of the word or clause and is collected through responses to questionnaires. Through policy and practice, India has privileged its larger languages, so it is unclear how efforts at documenting minority and lesser-studied languages will overlay with this linguistic culture in the long term. Indian states were reorganized based on language after independence (King, 1997).

The Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner manages the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI). This ambitious update of George Grierson's pre-independence Linguistics Survey of India, which he collated, edited, and published between 1903 and 1928, was started in 1981. George Grierson proposed 1652 different languages.

> Language is an integral part of a group's social identity and ethnicity. In order to preserve a social group's or tribe's cultural identity, it is essential to understand the urgency and draw a roadmap for preserving their cultural, social, and linguistic heritage and identity.[1]

Ganesh Devy, a former English professor who is now a self-taught linguist, is the conceptual and operational head of the PLSI. Devy used the labour of 3500 volunteers, including native speakers or speakers of closely related languages, linguists, and historians, to collect language data state-by-state under the auspices of a non-profit organization called the Bhasha Research and Publication Centre. 780 languages have been identified by the group, and they have all been published.

The extinction of two languages per month, according to Crystal (2000), was pointed out by Pankaj Dwivedi & Somdev Kar (2017:70) (see Allwood 2006). Larger languages are considered

[1] https://linguistlist.org/issues/29/29-414/

accountable for the plight of smaller languages. McWorter (2009) describes how English is consuming other smaller languages as follows:

> There are about 20 languages that are slowly eating up the other 6,000. That is essentially because of how England developed a global presence starting in the 1600s, and the language they happened to carry with them was English. We are seeing an increasingly Anglophone world and an increasingly oral, rather than written world. So many other languages fall by the wayside that we may lose 90 percent of the languages we have now by the year 2100 (McWhorter apud Stephenson 2013).

2. Language Documentation Matters

As Chelliah, 2021:20 says we gain from the viewpoints of current science but are doubly enriched by Indigenous perspectives as we deal jointly with climate change, biodiversity loss, and decreased access to drinkable water and nourishing foods. Although climate change affects all of us, Indigenous communities need quick solutions because they interact with shifting ecosystems more than the industrialized communities around them. They claim that Indigenous peoples can teach us because they "interpret and react to the impacts of climate change in creative ways, drawing on traditional knowledge and other technologies to find solutions which may help society at large to cope with impending changes".

Documenting Agricultural Practices, Documenting Ethnobotany (when communities are moved off their ancestral lands, memory of that land and its flora and fauna often fades. Ethnobotanical language documentation helps to preserve that knowledge)., Documentation of Music and Verbal Art (Ethnomusicologist Catherine Grant notes that like language, “music contains vital information about how people live – about their animals, their weather, their practices, and traditions – and about the world we share” (Grant, 2014). Documentation for Healthcare (Language documentation can contribute to critical community needs such as risk management. Due to the 2020 coronavirus pandemic, the Refugee Council of the United States now provides information about the prevention and spread of the virus in 15 languages. There are many additional heritage languages represented in the US, will not get the same information). Documentation for Wellness (We are increasingly discovering the positive societal impacts of language revitalization for communities and individuals engaged in revitalization activities). On the language side, as with many of the smaller languages are losing partially through intermarriage.

3. Data Collection

Once on location, linguists, and language activists usually participate in a cycle that includes recording and elicitation sessions, write-up, transcription, and analysis sessions, which feed into questions that guide more consultation meetings. Many procedures and uses of talents, such as recording methods, electrical supply management, maintenance of media carriers, data formulation, and media formats, are intricately intertwined into this cycle. According to Bird and Simons' (2003) "seven dimensions" of content, format, discovery, access, citation, preservation, and rights. The characteristics that guarantee the ability of digital language resources to be stored, discovered, communicated, repurposed, etc. are identified by these dimensions. The format, comprising markup, the encoding of characters, data structures, and documents, and the

distinction between proprietary and open formats, has, however, received the most attention. For example, stating a range of recommended formats:

1) audio - WAV

2) Image types: BMP, TIFF, and JPEG

3) MPEG2 video

4) Plain text, either with or without mark-up

5) Documents in postscript, PDF, or plain text

6) structured text with XML and other markup (along with a description of the markup system); ELAR will convert structured data in widely used Office formats to archive-friendly formats.

7) Character encoding- ASCII or Unicode is preferable; any other encodings must be fully documented; discuss with us the use of font replacement to handle non-Roman characters

To understand a sentence means to understand a language (Wittgenstein, 1953:81). As our first example, we consider the problem of furnishing annotation of Mavilan data recorded by me from the field. The process of working up recorded material involves three stages:

(a) recording of the speech data as an audio

(b) preservation of annotated data in an archive.

We are mainly working on a low-resource datas as part of our experiment. The fact that no text resources are available to the best of our knowledge and it makes Mavilan a very low resource-based language. The audio data were stored in .ogg format then it was converted into .WAV format using online free website https://audio.online-convert.com/convert/ogg-to-wav

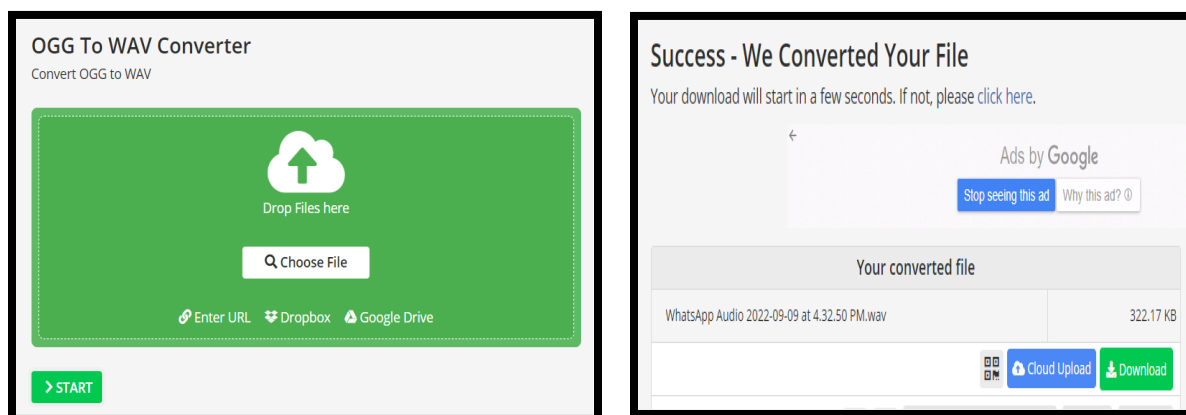
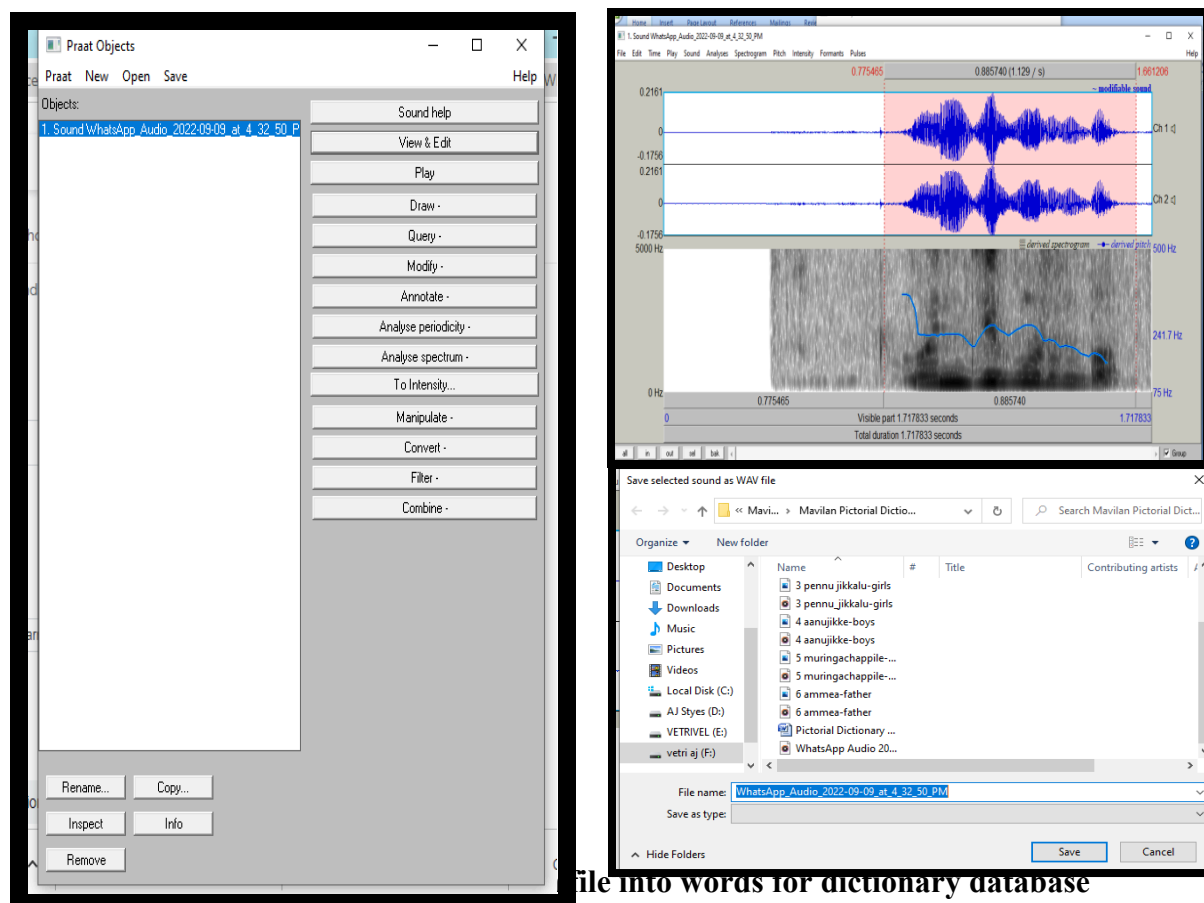



Figure-1 Conversion of OGG speech file to WAV file

file into words for dictionary database

For many low-resource languages, speech data is easier to obtain than textual data. And because speech transcription is a costly and slow process, speech is more likely to be annotated with translations than with transcriptions. This translated speech is a potentially valuable source of information – for example, for documenting endangered languages or for training speech translation systems. In language documentation, data is usable only if it is interpretable. To make a collection of speech data usable for future studies of the language, something resembling interlinear glossed text (transcription, morphological analysis, word glosses, free translation) would be needed at minimum (Antonios Anastasopoulos et al., 2016).

4. Annotation of Speech Data

There are six language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman, and Andamanese. Even in highly agglutinative languages like Dravidian, one might easily note the morphemic breaks when accumulating short phrases. For any correct grammatical judgment, glossing and morpheme-by-morpheme translations are a must. One should not attempt to speed up the process because it takes time overall. Data elicitation and tagging are labour-intensive, multi-stage processes. Your labelling gets cleaner and cleaner as you continue to analyze the already elicited words, phrases, and sentences (Anvita Abi, 2001: 142).

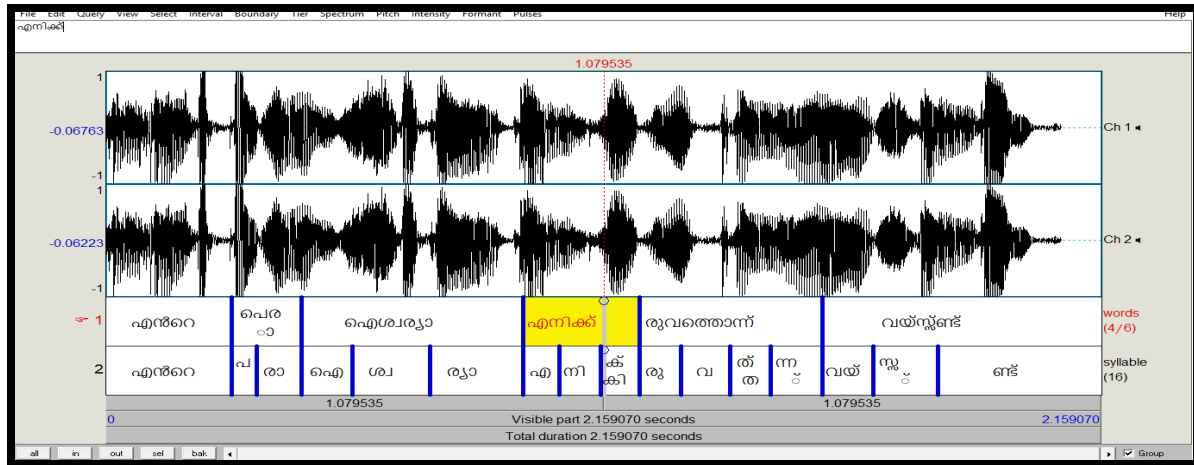



Figure-3 Annotation of speech corpus at different levels like word and syllable using praat adopted from Roshin A. R. (2019:20)

Sl. No.	Pronunciation of Kurichiyan Word	English Glossing	Picture
1	əppɑ:	Mother	
2	kʊndʒɪ	Child	
3	pɛnnʉdʒɪkkəlʉ	Girls	
4	ɑ:nʉdʒɪkke	Boys	
5	mʊrɪngəsɛppɪle	Drumstick tree	

Figure-3 Pronouncing Dictionary of Mavilan

The above pronouncing dictionary of Mavilan displays a few words that we have developed pronouncing dictionary for the Mavilan dictionary with limited words.

5. Archiving process

Depositors eventually begin making conscious efforts to archive their materials. But it should be given priority based on endangerment of the languages. While for some, moving on to planning for archiving signals a change from their usual method of working, for some, archiving concerns may have already significantly affected how they have developed their data. In either situation, we would prefer to acquire representative samples for assessment and the chance to provide counsel (although, it is helpful to comprehend how documenters operate regardless).

	Raw	***Working***	***Interchange***	***Archive***	***Dissemination***
Video	DVI	Software specific	MPEG-2	MPEG-2	MPEG2, AVI, QT
Field-notes	Toolbox, Page	Toolbox	FOSF	XML	WWW, Print dictionary
Audio	ATRAC	WAV	WAV	BWF	MP3
Complex data	Multiple	FM Pro database	RTF, XML	XML	Interactive application
Multi-modal	Multiple	Multiple	all above	all above	Multimedia application

Adopted from David Nathan (2008)

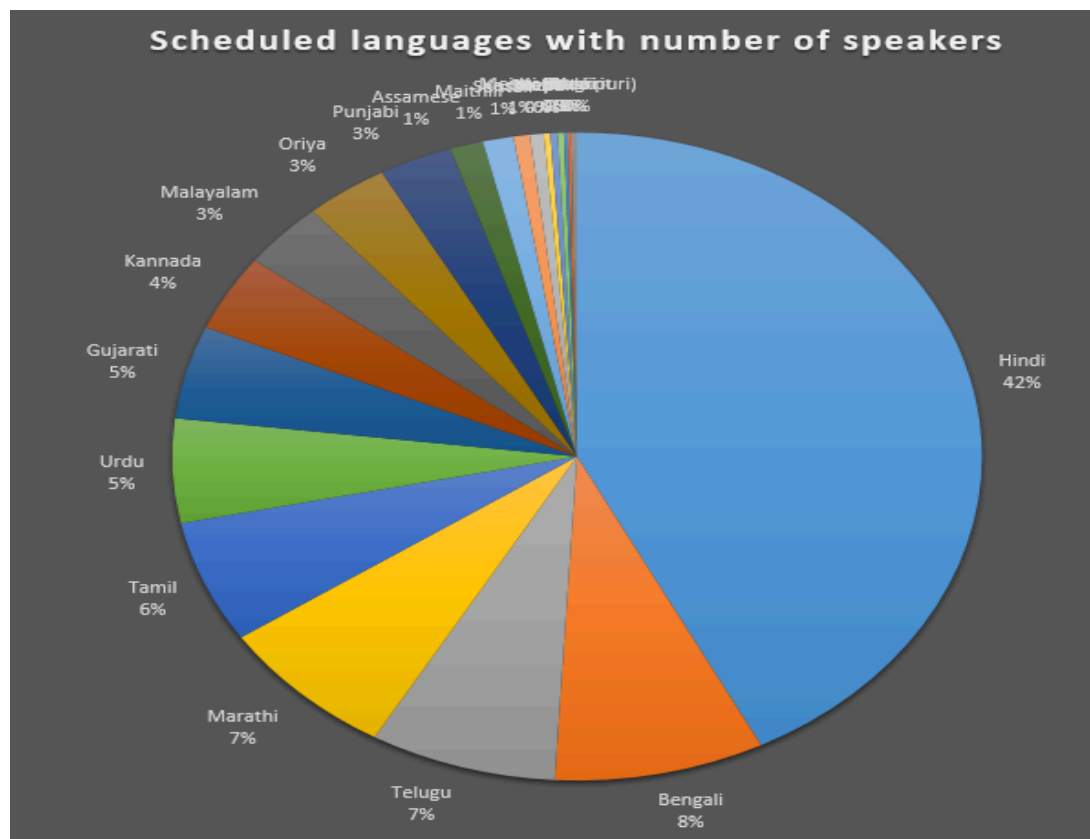
The passage below, from Ryan E. Henke & Andrea L. Berez-Kroeker (2016), expresses this sentiment in the following passage:

> Digital audio and video recording, portable storage, and software development enabling the tagging, management, and analysis of collected data raise the stakes for corpus collections. Our traditional published text collection consisted of a few hundred pages of narrative text with interlinear glosses, free translation, and explanatory notes, but the modern published corpus may potentially consist of digital audio recordings of data collection sessions, some with accompanying video, and linked to a range of transcriptions representing different kinds and levels of analysis. Where the published text collection once served as the grounding evidence for linguistic analysis, the digital archive will come increasingly to fill that role. (Evans & Dench 2006:24)

Information technology (IT) plays an important role in language documentation (Woodbury, 2003). As language documentation is a multidisciplinary domain, it is not always easy to identify which parties need to know which IT skills. For example, the use of software supporting XML is widely recommended, but who needs to know how XML works: is it the documenter, the archivist, a software developer, a video maker, or all/none of them? As language documentation is an emerging field, it is timely to examine the nature of the IT skills required for language documentation, and to see how these might differ from related fields. It is specifically intended

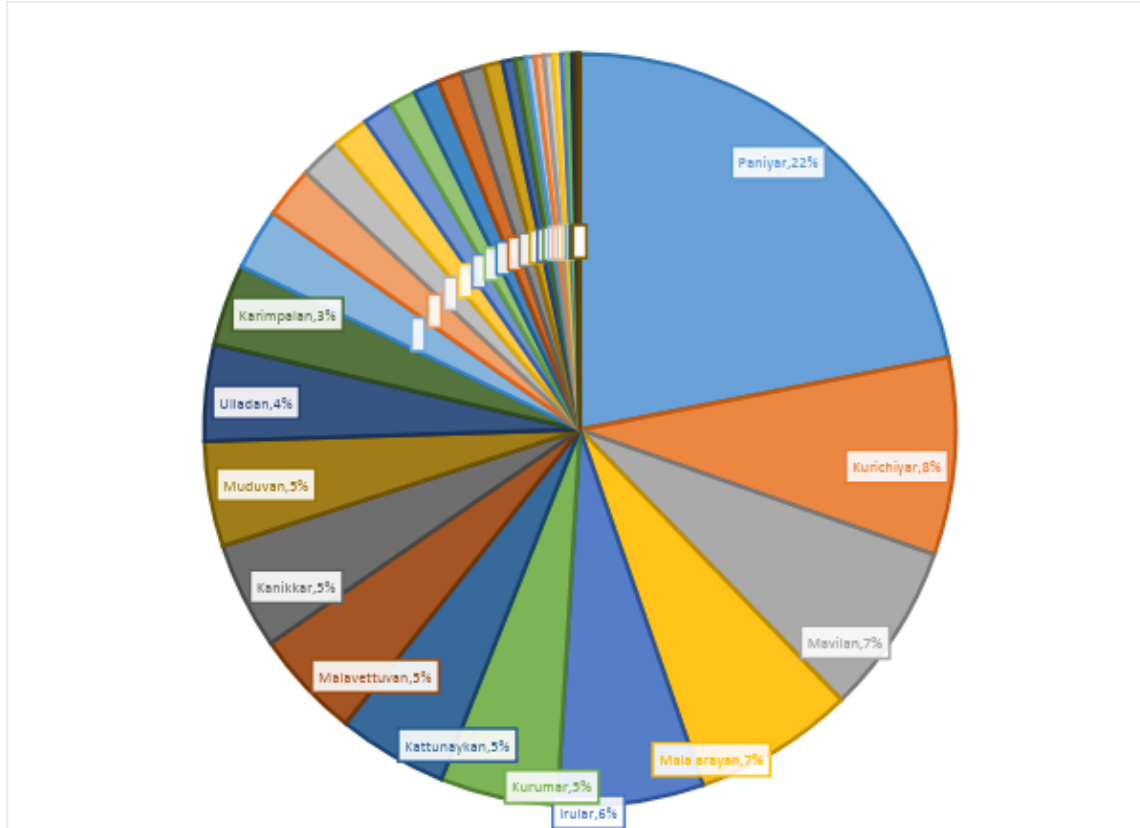
for an audience of researchers planning or undertaking language documentation. It is assumed that the reader already possesses the linguistic knowledge and skills necessary to undertake a documentation of endangered languages (Robert Munro, 2005).

5.1 Scheduled languages and their populations

The following chat shows the status of scheduled languages in India. Based on the chart and no. of populations it should be given priority I mean the lease population would be given priority for documentation and development of language technology.

Pie Chart-1 Representation of scheduled languages and their populations as per 2001census

If we go by the statistics based on the population of scheduled languages in India, the classical languages of India are like 1. Sanskrit, 2.Oriya, 3.Malayalam, 4.Kannada, 5.Tamil, and 6.Telugu is under threatened to disappear first compared to the other scheduled languages like 1.Hindi, and 2.Bengali, even to some extent 3.Marathi, 4.Urdu, 5.Gujarati are among the languages of India.

5.2 Community-wise distribution of scheduled tribes of Kerala

The following chat shows the status of tribal languages in Kerala. Based on the populations it should be given a priority that the less populated communities should be given priority while documenting endangered languages.

Pie Chart-2 Community-wise distribution of scheduled tribes of Kerala

The above pie-chart represents low-resourced languages and their populations in Kerala. It also reveals that among the tribal languages of Kerala, Paniya, Kuruchiyar, Mavilan, Mala arayan, Irular, Kurumar, Kattunaykan, Malavettuvan, Kanikkar, Muduvan are better position compared to Mahamalsar, Aranadan, Cholanayakan, Wayanadan Kada, Kutiya, Malapanikkar, Palliyan, Koraga, Thacchanadan, Malai Pandaram, and Kadar. These languages should be prioritized for documentation among India's endangered languages, particularly in Kerala.

6. File formats

Another way to consider file formats is using different formats at different points in a resource's lifespan. Examples of authors who discriminate between forms suitable for resources in their working, archiving, and presentation (dissemination) phases are Johnson (2004:146) and Austin (2006). For instance, a grammar could be created in MS Word (the working format), saved as XML, and shared as a PDF or online (the presentation). This schema should be expanded, though, because it ignores (a) ephemeral or informal formats used in additional phases that could be referred to as "raw" and "interchange"; (b) formats do not simply map onto phases - some formats are applicable for multiple phases, either through their expressiveness and robustness

(like XML), or through pragmatism (like MPEG), and, (c) the three-way division does not adequately account for the complexities of working with multimedia and sophisticated data, such as databases.

7. Conclusion

Documentary linguistics, often known as language documentation, is a new area of study now emerging and developing gradually. The emphasis of language research has changed for many researchers and communities, particularly those speaking endangered languages, with a new focus on recording, analyzing, and preserving records of language in use in ways that can benefit a variety of constituencies, particularly the speaker communities themselves (Peter K. Austin 2010). Many languages will face extinction in the coming decades. Half of the 7,000 languages spoken worldwide are expected to disappear by the end of this century (Austin & Sallabank, 2011), and there are too few field linguists to document these endangered languages. Large Language Models (LLMs, such as GPT-3, PALM, LLaMA, and GPT-4) are a brand-new technology that is currently in development. In the future, LLMs can be utilized as digital archives for documenting low-resource languages as long as we continue to supply gold-standard data periodically. For instance, it can aid with translating and transcribing activities, making content in a language with limited resources more accessible to a larger audience. Working together with local communities and native speakers is crucial in order to ensure the accuracy and cultural relevance of the digital archive. Additionally, the performance of LLMs for a particular language can be enhanced with their input (Samuel R. Bowman, 2023). Language documentation is still a rarity in India. It is clear that many languages worldwide need digital archives, especially for low-resourced languages, particularly in India, not only for language documentation and revitalization purposes but also for developing language technology tools based on the priority of endangerments.

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Negation in Bodo

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A B S T R A C T

Bodo is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language mostly concentrated in the present BTR (Bodoland Territorial Region) and more or less nearly all districts of Assam; some in Northeastern states of India particularly in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Meghalaya and a section of Bodo linguistic speakers (known as Mech) are also scattered in the North Bengal region of West Bengal and in southeastern Nepal (known as Meche). The Bodo speakers usually used two processes during negation. To make a negative sentence, they use negative markers and some specific words. The {da-}, {-a}, {-ɯi}, {-ak^{h}ɯi} and {-la} are the key negative markers used while making a negative sentence. The 'naηa', 'nɔηa', and 'gɯia' are some specific terms which are used before or after the verb and noun. This paper highlighted different negative markers and gave an emphasis on some specific negative terms which are used during negation

1. Introduction

The Bodos are also known as 'Boro'. The term 'Bodo' or 'Boro' expresses the name of community and language. The generic term 'Bodo' was first used by the Hodgson to denote a group of languages, which comprises Boro (Kachari and Mech), Rabha, Lalung, Dimasa, Garo, Tripura and Chutiya (Grierson, 1903). The Bodos are one of the remarkable linguistic communities and early settlers of Assam, a state of Northeast India (Brahma, 2013). According to Endle, the river names of the whole Brahmaputra valley of Assam are Bodo names, and it is demonstrable that the Bodos were the aborigines of the valley (Endle, 1997). Bodos are the people of the Mongoloid race and linguistically members of Tibeto-Burman (TB) group of languages under the Sino-Tibetan language family, one of the largest language families in the world (Basumatary & Chainary, 2017).

The Bodo speakers are predominantly concentrated in the present BTR (Bodoland Territorial Region) and more or less nearly all districts of Assam. Apart from the Assam, some Bodo speakers are also present in other Northeastern states of India like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Meghalaya. A section of Bodo linguistic variety speakers are distributed in the North Bengal region of West Bengal and in the southeastern Nepal.

The Bodo linguistic community is known under different names in different places. In the entire Brahmaputra valley of Assam, they are well-known as Bodo (Boro) and in the North Bengal region under the state of West Bengal as 'Mech' and in southeast Nepal as 'Meche'. The term 'Mech' or 'Meche' is derived from the river Mechi, a notable river flowing through India

and Nepal border (Sanyal, 1973). In the history of Assam, the term ‘Kachari’ was used by the historians for the Bodos (Baruah, 2003).

According to the 92nd amendment of the Indian constitution, Bodo, recognized as a scheduled language of India. Presently, Bodo is used as an associate state language of Assam and an official language of BTR, Assam, a territorial region of the Bodos comprising the districts of Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa, Tamulpur and Udalguri.

2. Objectives of the study

This paper is a study on the processes of Negation in Bodo, a TB language, largely spoken in Assam and partly in adjoining states of India like Meghalaya, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and West Bengal. In Bodo, prefixes and suffixes take a significant role during negative formation. So, the main objectives of this study are to find out and highlight the different negative markers. Apart from this, an emphasis has been made on the negative sentences which are formed with the help of some specific negative terms.

3. Data Collection Method

The main data presented in this study is basically collected from the primary source. To get primary data, interview or interaction has been made visiting the Bodo concentrated areas mainly in Kokrajhar and Chirang districts of Assam. The researcher as a native Bodo speaker collected a few information through observation method from the speakers. Along with primary data, a few relevant secondary data are also gathered from the books written on the related subject.

4. Discussions

Bodo is an agglutinative language. Adding prefixes and suffixes to the morphemes, different meaningful words can be formed during negation.

4.1 Use of {da-}

This is one of the notable negative prefixes, which take an important role during negative formation. Bodo has use of only one prefix {da-}, which is specifically prefixed before verbs in imperative sentence, as examples,

(1) *nɔ-aɔ da-t^{h}a*η
home-LOC NEG-go
Do not go to home

(2) *dɔrza-k^{h}ɯu da-p^{h}a*η
door-ACC NEG-shut
Do not shut the door

(3) *gɔt^{h}ɔ-k^{h}ɯu da-bu*
child-ACC NEG-beat
Do not beat the child

4.2 Use of {-a}

Another notable negative marker is ***{-a}***. During construction of negative sentences, it is usually suffixed to the verbs. For example-

(4) *aη* t^{h}*aη-a*
I go-NEG
I will not go

(5) *biyɯ* p^{h}*ɯi-a*
he come-NEG
He will not come

(6) *Raju-a gele-a*
Raju-NOM play-NEG
Raju will not play

Depending on the phonological condition of the word, the negative marker **{-a}** becomes {-ya} and {-wa}. Example-

(7) *aη gi-a (giya)*
I fear-NEG
I do not fear

(8) *aη maɔ-a (maɔwa)*
I do-NEG
I will not do

In the above two examples, depending on the phonological condition of the verb ‘gi’ and ‘maɔ’, {-a} becomes {-ya} and {-wa} respectively. It is mentionable here that, during negation, when negative marker {-a} is added to the verbs ending with phoneme /i/ and /w/, it turns into {-ya} and {-wa}. It is one of the noteworthy characteristics of the Bodo language.

4.3 Use of {-ɯi}

This is one of the negative markers usually suffixed to the verbs to construct a negative sentence. Examples-

(9) *mansi za-ɯi besad*
man eat-NEG thing
Not edible for man

(10) k^{h}*ɯma* k^{h}*ɯna-wi gɔ*t^{h}*ɔ*
ear hearing-NEG child
Deaf child

In Bodo variety, the negative marker {-ɯi} is alternatively used as {-i}. Example-

(11) p^{h}*ɯi-i*
Come-NEG
Did not come

4.4 Use of {-ak^{h}*ɯi}*

This is a negative suffix. To form a negative sentence, the Bodo speakers also used the negative marker {-akʰɯi} with verb. Example-

(12) *lɯŋ-akʰɯi*
drink-NEG
Did not drink

(13) *labɯ- akʰɯi*
bring-NEG
Did not bring

4.5 Use of {-la}

During expression of negative sentence, the Bodo speakers also use the negative suffix {-la} with verbs. Examples-

(14) *buŋ-la*
speak-NEG
Will not speak

(15) *kʰar-la*
run-NEG
Will not run

In relevance to this, it is to be mentioned that, Bodo speakers (a linguistic variety of Bodo) of North Bengal of West Bengal suffix {-le} to verbs to make a negative sentence, as examples-

(16) *za-le*
eat-NEG
Do not eat

(17) *tʰaŋ-le*
go-NEG
Do not go

Apart from the process of the use of negative markers, there are a few terms like 'naŋa', 'nɔŋa', 'gɯia', which are used during negative formation in different verbal situations. The words 'naŋa', 'nɔŋa', 'gɯia' are usually antonyms of 'naŋgɯu' 'nɔŋgɯu' and 'dɔŋ', which are used during formation of positive sentences. The term 'naŋa' can only be placed after the verb and noun; the term 'nɔŋa' is usually used after verb and noun, and the term 'gɯia' is only used before noun to express particular location. For examples-

(18) *tʰaŋ-nɯ naŋa*
go-DAT NEG
Do not go today

(19) *bedɔr naŋa*
meat NEG
Do not need meat

(20) *mansi nɔŋa*

man NEG
Not man

(21) *za-nɯ nɔɳa*
eat-DAT NEG
Not to eat

(22) *pʰukʰri-yaɔ dui gɯia*
Pond-LOC water NEG
There is no water in the pond

(23) *ɔkʰa gɯiya*
Rain NEG
No rain

Conclusion

Bodo, as an agglutinative language, use different negative markers to construct a negative sentence. Along with this process, they also use some specific terms for the negative sentences. Thus, we came to know that Bodo has two processes of negative formation- use of negative markers and use of some specific terms. The {da-}, {-a}, {-ɯi}, {-akʰɯi} and {-la} are the notable negative markers used while making a negative sentence. Among these negative markers, {da-} is the only negative markers which can be prefixed before verb. One of the observable aspects is that, depending on the phonological condition, the suffix {-a} becomes {-ya} and {-wa}. Apart from this process of negation, the terms 'naɳa', 'nɔɳa', 'gɯia' are also used to make a negative sentence. The term 'naɳa' can be positioned after the verb and noun; the term 'nɔɳa' is usually used after verb and noun, and the term 'gɯia' can only be positioned before noun to express a particular location.

Abbreviation

ACC- Accusative
BTR- Bodoland Territorial Region
DAT- Dative
LOC- Locative
NEG- negative
NOM- Nominative
TB- Tibeto-Burman

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Study of Implicatures in *The Birthday Party* and *The Homecoming* by Harold Pinter

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A B S T R A C T
Harold Pinter is a prominent playwright in the postmodern world. His plays are well-known for his unique style and use of language. His renowned plays are characterized by the elements of absurdity, uncertainty and ambiguity. Conversations in his plays are ambiguous, cryptic and open to various distinct interpretations. Pragmatics studies linguistic meaning with reference to the context. Theory of implicature proposed by H.P. Grice is a prominent theory in Pragmatics. It helps to understand conversation with deeper meaning as well as true motives of speakers. Harold Pinter's plays, The Birthday Party and The Homecoming, captivate readers or spectators with their puzzling storytelling and thought-provoking themes. In these plays, Pinter explores into the complexities in a human relationship, lack of communication, power struggle and existential crisis. These plays challenge the readers as well as spectators to question their own beliefs and invite them into a world of suspense and ambiguity. This research paper aims to shed light on the study of dramatic dialogues selected from Pinter’s unique plays through H.P. Grice’s theory of implicatures and its contribution to the overall dramatic effect.

1. Introduction

Harold Pinter's career as a playwright and his significant contributions to the Theatre of the Absurd have left a permanent mark on the theatrical landscape. His pioneering use of language, unconventional stage settings, and exploration of power dynamics have set his place as a pioneering figure in this influential genre. *The Birthday Party* and *The Homecoming* represent Pinter's unique style and his ability to probe into the depths of human psychology. Both plays are highly characterized because of their multidimensional characters, unconventional dialogue, and atmospheric tension. Pinter's exploration of power dynamics, identity, and the fragility of human relationships captivates readers or spectaculars, making these plays enduring classics of the theater. Conversations in his both the plays are quite unique and challenge conventional beliefs and social norms. The implicature analysis of conversational pieces can help readers to understand unsaid meanings of these complex plays. Conversational Implicature is a fundamental concept in the field of linguistics and pragmatics. It refers to the idea that speakers often convey more than what is explicitly stated in their utterances. In other words, implicature involves the understanding of implied meanings that go beyond the literal interpretations of words. The term "conversational implicature" was first introduced by the British philosopher, H.

P. Grice in his William James lectures at Harvard University in 1967. Grice used the technical term ‘implicature’ to signify the communicational content not covered in 'what is said'. Grice’s theory helps us to understand pragmatic inferences which are not a part of semantic meaning. Implicature provides extra meaning attached to utterance which is different from a sense of utterance. This theory preserves assumption that participants in conversation follow some sense of co-operation at some deeper level. This sense of cooperation is determined by the maxims of conversation. It is absolutely significant to note that implicatures can be established by envisaging the four conversational rules or maxims according to the Co-operative Principle. Grice’s four conversational maxims are as follows:

2. The Co-operative Principle

A. The maxim of Quantity:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

B. The maxim of Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

C. The maxim of Relation: Be relevant.

D. The maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous.

1. Avoid obscurity
2. Avoid ambiguity
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
4. Be orderly (Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 101-102).

The Birthday Party was Pinter's first full-length play, written in 1957. It revolves around the character of Stanley, a reclusive man living in a boarding house. The play takes place on the day of Stanley's birthday party, where unexpected guests disrupt his isolated life. The arrival of two mysterious men, Goldberg and McCann, leads to a series of unsettling events which challenge Stanley's sense of identity and belonging. *The Homecoming,* written in 1964, is another masterpiece by Pinter. It tells the story of a dysfunctional family living in North London. When the eldest son brings his wife home for a visit, tensions rise as the family dynamics unravel. These plays explore themes of power struggle, gender roles, and the complexities of human relationships.

Both the plays deal with the theme of absurdity of human life and situation, therefore, it would be quite interesting to note how the different characters conform to Grice’s theory of implicature in these plays.

3. Analysis of implicatures in *The Birthday Party*.

Example of Conversation: One

MEG: Oh. *Pause*. What are you reading?

PETEY: Someone’s just had a baby.

MEG: Oh, they haven't! Who?

PETEY: Some girl (BP, 11)

4. Analysis of Implicature

The above-cited conversation takes place during the casual interactions between Meg and Petey. Meg is busy in her daily chores in morning. She talks to Petey about his routine. Petey is busy in reading a newspaper and she unexpectedly asks him, "Oh, What are you reading?" and he replies, "Someone's just had a baby". Here, Petey's reply is vague and not relevant to her question. It appears that he neglects her question. Therefore, he does not give relevant answer to her question. Thus, he seems to be non-cooperative by violating the maxim of quality and relevance. If his reply is taken to be cooperative, it implicates that he is not interested in talking to Meg. He neglects social activities happening around. It also gives readers an idea about his isolation and aloneness. Here, Meg's question suggests that she wants to reduce the remoteness with Petey and establish connection with him.

Meg thinks that Petey does not know who had a baby. Meg further asks, "Oh, they haven't! Who?" And Petey replies, "Some girl". Here, Petey's reply to Meg's question seems irrelevant as a relevant reply could have been the name of baby's mother or her parents. Thus, he seems to be once again non-cooperative by violating the maxim of relation. However, if his reply is taken to be cooperative, it seems to implicate that Petey does not have his full attention in reading the newspaper. He does not provide necessary details from the newspaper. Petey wants to inform that there are many who had girl babies. It reveals his least involvement in ongoing conversation.

In the above-cited conversation, Meg and Petey talk about the news related to baby's presence. While answering Meg's question, Petey seems least interested in providing detailed information. His replies indicate his indifference to what Meg is asking for. Thus, this piece of conversation clearly reveals that the couple is least involved in their relation.

5. Example of Conversation: Two

GOLDBERG: Why do you treat that young lady like a leper? She's not the leper, Webber!

STANLEY: What the –

GOLDBERG: What did you wear last week, Webber? Where do you keep your suits?

MCCANN: Why did you leave the organization?

GOLDBERG: What would your old mum say, Webber?

MCCANN: Why did you betray us? (BP, 47-48)

6. Analysis of Implicatures

In the above-cited conversational piece, Goldberg and McCann go on asking Stanley questions without giving him enough time to think and reply. The questions also are equally strange and unexpected which naturally suppress and confuse Stanley. Goldberg asks, "Why do you treat that young lady like a leper? She's not the leper, Webber!" Here, Goldberg violates the maxim of

quality by speaking lie and making further false charges on Stanley regarding Lulu. Goldberg is trying to breakdown Stanley's state of mind by questioning his relations with others. Actually, Goldberg may not have any information about the relationship between Lulu and Stanley. Without any evidence he comments on their relationship. In turn, their acts of asking questions are meaningless. They simply use the technique of hammering questions to mentally disturb Stanley. Stanley's reply "What the –", violates the maxim of manner with obscure answer. It is not clear what he wants to say but his reply implicates his failure to deal with the situation. He appears totally confused and mentally disturbed.

Goldberg's questioning, "What did you wear last week, Webber? Where do you keep your suits?" violates the maxim of relevance by asking irrelevant questions. His intention is to drive Stanley crazy by hammering on him irrelevant questions. Then McCann asks, "Why did you leave the organization?" Here, he violates the maxim of relation by asking irrelevant question. This utterance implicates that they may have shared some common past. Goldberg's questioning, "What would your old mum say, Webber?" violates the maxim of relation by asking irrelevant question to tease and further disturb Stanley. It implicates that Goldberg poses to have a sense of superiority over Stanley. He considers him as a school child who is dependent on his parents. Further, McCann's question, "Why did you betray us?" violates the maxim of quality by blaming him without any evidence. This question also implicates that they have some relations in the past. Their questions become not only more and more absurd, but also more and more meaningless. And yet, Goldberg treats this questioning with an extreme sincerity, as if it is a matter of life and death. It clearly reveals that the entire interrogation session is meaningless. Goldberg and McCann may pose that Stanley is guilty and he is not satisfying their demands. Stanley responds to these absurd questions as if they are truly serious, thereby validating the interrogation. Being a sensitive artist, he has a guilty conscience and naturally feels fearful and mentally disturbed.

The analysis of an above-mentioned interactions reveal that while asking questions to Stanley, Goldberg and McCann do not provide him opportunity to answer their questions. His short and incomplete responses seem to express his denial of whatever they ask. Thus, it can be said that they ask these questions only to threaten and bewilder Stanley and not for getting answers. Therefore, sincerity of these questions can be challenged and same is true about implications raised by them.

7. Analysis of implicatures in *The Homecoming*.

Example of Conversation: Three

MAX: … The times I've watched those animals thundering past the post. What an experience. Mind you, I didn't lose, I made a few bob out of it, and you know? Because I always had the smell of a good horse. I could smell him. And not only the colts but the fillies. Because the fillies are more highly strung than the colts, they're more reliable, did you know that? No, what do you know? Nothing.

LENNY: Dad, do you mind if I change the subject?

Pause.

I want to ask you something. The dinner we had before, what was the name of it?

What do you call it?

Pause.

Why don't you buy a dog? You're a dog cook. Honest. You think you're cooking for a lot of dogs.

MAX: If you don't like it get out.

LENNY: I am going out. I'm going out to buy myself a proper dinner. (HC, 10-11)

8. Analysis of Implicatures

This piece of conversation takes place between Max and Lenny when they talk about the race. Max elaborately narrates his experiences regarding horses and says, "… The times I've watched those animals thundering past the post. What an experience. Mind you, I didn't lose, I made a few bob out of it, and you know? Because I always had the smell of a good horse. I could smell him. And not only the colts but the fillies. Because the fillies are more highly strung than the colts, they're more reliable, did you know that? No, what do you know? Nothing." Here, he violates the maxim of quantity by giving unnecessary information which is not actually required and demanded. These utterances implicate that Max has an additional knowledge about horses than his son; therefore Lenny has to listen to him. Max also violates the maxim of quality because it is quite unbelievable that he can determine the quality of horse with the smell of a horse. He implicates that he has enough experiences about the horses on the ground and has obtained clear understanding regarding them.

After listening to this detailed information, Lenny asks Max, **"**Dad, do you mind if I change the subject?" Here, he violates the maxim of relation. He asks irrelevant question because he gets bored and irritated by listening to Max's narration. He seems to be rude towards Max. This utterance implicates that Lenny does not have any interest in the topic of horses. He would like to suggest that it's too much about the horses now. He wants to talk about different topics. Therefore, to change the topic, after the pause Lenny asks, "I want to ask you something. The dinner we had before, what was the name of it? What do you call it?" Here, Lenny violates the maxim of quality as it is not a sincere question. This utterance implicates that Lenny dislikes the food which they had at the dinner prepared by Max**.** He states that he has never eaten such an insipid food before. After a pause Lenny asks, "Why don't you buy a dog? You're a dog cook. Honest. You think you're cooking for a lot of dogs." This utterance implicates that Max is an awful cook, who prepares tasteless food. Therefore, Lenny tells that the food is not worth eating by human beings, but by dogs. He bluntly calls Max a dog cook, who prepares food for dogs. He wants to suggest that as a human being, he could not eat such a tasteless food.

Max angrily replies, "If you don't like it get out." Here, Max observes the maxim of quality by giving true reply to express his anger. He is annoyed by Lenny's blunt remarks. He asks Lenny to get out if he does not like the food. This utterance implicates that he does not care of Lenny's opinion. Lenny tells, "I'm going out to buy myself a proper dinner". Lenny observes the maxim of quality by giving right reply. This utterance implicates that Lenny could not get proper dinner in the house.

In this conversation, Max's elaborate narration related to horses implicates that he lives in the past illusions. Lenny blames his father for being an awful cook. There is a lack of love and affection in their relation.

9. Example of Conversation: Four

RUTH: You'd supply my wardrobe, of course?

LENNY: We'd supply everything. Everything you need.

RUTH: I'd need an awful lot. Otherwise, I wouldn't be content.

LENNY: You would have everything.

RUTH: I would naturally want to draw up an inventory of everything I would need, which would require your signatures in the presence of witnesses.

LENNY: Naturally. (HC 130-131)

10. Analysis of Implicatures

In this conversational piece, Ruth talks about her terms and conditions of employment. She wants all these things to be written and signed in the presence of witnesses. She also insists on that all the conditions should be clarified to their mutual satisfaction.

Ruth informs Lenny that her finances in the beginning must be considered as an investment. Ruth asks, "You'd supply my wardrobe, of course?" Here, she observes the maxim of quality by clearly conveying her conditions to all. This utterance implicates that she is willingly involving in the business of prostitution. She has her own demands. She dominantly and explicitly puts her demands before them. Lenny's replies, "We'd supply everything. Everything you need." He observes the maxim of quality by giving his acceptance to Ruth's demands. This utterance implicates that Lenny's interest is to settle Ruth's' business for financial gains and to get sexual pleasure from her. The word 'everything' uttered twice by Lenny, reveals his attraction towards her. Ruth states, "I'd need an awful lot. Otherwise, I wouldn't be content" She observes the maxim of quality to make her demand absolutely clear. This utterance implicates Ruth's desire to live a luxurious life. She clearly understands Lenny's intentions. She suggests that if he wants sexual pleasure from her, he needs to fulfill her all demands. Lenny replies, "You would have everything" Here, he again observes the maxim of quality to confirm his agreement related to Ruth's demands. This utterance implicates that Lenny is ready to accept all demands of Ruth. He does not oppose Ruth as he might have fear about Ruth's act of terminating the contract.

Ruth informs Lenny, "I would naturally want to draw up an inventory of everything I would need, which would require your signatures in the presence of witnesses." Here, she observes the maxim of relevance as she speaks clearly about legal contract by stating the requirements of contract. This utterance implicates that Ruth is quite aware of the problems which may arise while dealing with Lenny and others. Therefore, to secure her interests, she asks for a contract and which must be signed by all of them in the presence of witnesses. Lenny's reply, "Naturally" observes the maxim of quality in accepting Ruth's demands. This utterance implicates that Lenny has no other option except to agree with Ruth.

This conversational piece suggests that Ruth will not live with them if they fall short in keeping her contented. Lenny does not have any option except to accept her terms and conditions as all of them are eager to keep her with them. Ruth does not believe only in spoken agreement but wants to make a legal contract. She gives due significance to all the details of the agreement so that her future will be secured. Max expects her that she should help them in domestic tasks.

11. Themes Explored through implicatures

A lack of communication in *The Birthday party*:
Pinter uses the maxims of co-operation to reveal a lack of communication among his characters. Though Meg and Petey are husband and wife, conversations between them are only for sake of conversation. In example of conversation: One, Petey mostly violates maxims of co-operation. It reveals how isolated and alone he is. He does not want to speak or share his feelings with his wife. Meg also observes as well as violates the maxims which reveal that she is not happy in her life. Though she tries to establish a connection with her husband, her remarks seem to be pointless and self-centric. As an effect, the readers observe the hopelessness in their life.

Existential threat in *The Birthday Party*:
In example of conversation: Two, Goldberg and McCann interrogate Stanley. Goldberg and McCann's questions violate as well as observe maxims. Stanley's utterances, violates the maxim of relation. As an effect, readers observe that he is greatly afraid of Goldberg and McCann. Pinter's use of implicature suggests the helpless and panicked situation of Stanley. Goldberg and McCann dominate and suppress as well as mentally confuse Stanley. Their interrogation reveals that Stanley has some horrible past experiences. They blame him as guilty for not satisfying their demand.

Family degradation and devaluation of social morals in *The Homecoming*:
In example of conversation: Three, Lenny does not want to listen his father Max's experiences, on the other hand, Max is not ready to accept any criticism about the taste of food that he had cooked. Pinter's use of implicatures reveals that Max and Lenny do not care about each other's opinions. They both violate as well as observe the maxims to express their anger towards each other. As an effect, readers observe that there is a lack of love and affection in their relation. There is no commutation between them as a father and a son.

Power struggle in *The Homecoming*:
In example of conversation: Four, Ruth's violation or observance of the maxim reveals her wish to dominate all male family members. Pinter's use of implicatures reveal Ruth's desire to live a luxurious life. She is aware of her own rights as she dictates her terms and conditions to all. Readers as well as spectators observe Ruth's sense of superiority in front of other family members.

12. Conclusion

Finally, reader may conclude by saying that Pinter's use of implicatures in his plays, *The Birthday Party* and *The Homecoming,* reveal a sense of insecurity and isolation, lack and breakdown of communication. It creates tension, ambiguity, and provoke deeper thought among the readers as well as spectator's minds. Pinter offers the readers as well as spectators to actively

engage with the plays and unravel the hidden meanings beneath the surface. Through this analysis, readers can observe complex and multidimensional characters, their hidden motives and manipulation. The plays, *The Birthday Party* and *The Homecoming* as a whole reveals that whatever happens to humans in life is not necessarily based on logic or reason. They deal with absurdity of human reality.

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মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা: একটি ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক বিশ্লেষণ

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ABSTRACT
মাদারীপুর বাংলাদেশের একটি জেলা।এর লোকসংখ্যা ১২,৯৩,০২৭ জন। এর উত্তরে ফরিদপুর ও মুন্সিগঞ্জ জেলা। পূর্ব দিকে শরীয়তপুর জেলা।পশ্চিমে ফরিদপুর ও গোপালগঞ্জ জেলা।দক্ষিণের বরিশাল ও গোপালগঞ্জ জেলা অবস্থিত। পূর্বে এটি ফরিদপুর মহকুমার অন্তর্গত ছিল। ঢাকা ও মাদারীপুরের মধ্যে বিভেদ হল পদ্মা নদী। দক্ষিণাঞ্চলের এই জেলার ভাষা নিয়ে এর আগে নির্দিষ্টভাবে কোন কাজ হয়নি। ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক গবেষণাও অপ্রতুল। অবশ্য ষাটের দশকে বাংলাদেশে আঞ্চলিক অভিধান রচনার সময় দক্ষিণাঞ্চল তথা ফরিদপুরের উপভাষা সংরক্ষণ করা হয়েছে ।এছাড়াও পূর্ববর্তী গবেষণায় দক্ষিণাঞ্চলের ভাষার বৈশিষ্ট্য নিয়ে আলোচনা করা হলেও নির্দিষ্টভাবে মাদারীপুরের ভাষা নিয়ে তেমন কোন গবেষণা পাওয়া যায় না। আমি এই গবেষণাপত্রে মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক, রূপতাত্ত্বিক, বাক্যতাত্ত্বিক এবং অর্থতাত্ত্বিক দিক দিয়ে সার্বিক আলোচনা করেছি। একই সাথে মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার নিজস্ব শব্দ ভান্ডারের দিকেও আলোকপাত করেছি। এই গবেষণার মূল উদ্দেশ্য মাদারীপুরের ভাষার ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক বিশ্লেষণ এবং একই সাথে এই ভাষাটি কেন আশেপাশের বাংলা উপভাষার থেকে স্বতন্ত্র তার কারণ অনুসন্ধান। আমি এই অঞ্চলের স্থানীয় হওয়াতে এই জেলার ভাষিক জ্ঞান জন্মগত। তদুপরি আমি এই জেলার ৩০ জনের সাক্ষাৎকার নিয়েছি যাদের বয়স ১৫ থেকে ৬০ বছর ।আমার সাক্ষাৎকারটি খোলামেলা রেখেছি। গুণগত পদ্ধতিতে এই গবেষণার অনুসন্ধান করেছি।
আমার গবেষণা মাদারীপুরের ভাষার বৈচিত্রের বিশ্লেষণধর্মী বর্ণনা করেছে।

১. ভূমিকা

আধুনিক ভাষাবিজ্ঞানীদের মতে, বিশেষ কোন গোষ্ঠী বা অঞ্চল ভেদে মান ভাষাকে আশ্রয় করে যে ভাষা গড়ে ওঠে, সেটি উপভাষা। তবে মান ভাষা নিয়ে অনেক বিতর্ক রয়েছে কেননা অনেক সময় রাজনৈতিক বা সাংস্কৃতিক কারণে এক অঞ্চলের ভাষা খুবই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ হয়ে ওঠে, তখন সেটিকেই মান ভাষা বলে অভিহিত করা হয়। ভাষা আসলে বৈচিত্র্যময়। সবার মধ্যেই ভাষা ব্যবহারের বৈচিত্রতা দেখা যায়। যার জন্য ব্যক্তিভেদে তার স্বরের বিভিন্নতার দিকে খেয়াল করলেই ভাষা আলাদা করে সনাক্ত করা যায় । ব্যক্তি যেমন ভাষার ভিন্নতা থাকে ঠিক তেমনি সমাজভেদে, অঞ্চলভেদে এবং রাষ্ট্রভেদে এই ভিন্নতা চোখে পড়ে । সুতরাং যে কোন ভাষার মর্যাদা কোনটাই কারো থেকে কম নয় তবুও প্রাথমিকভাবে মনে করা হয় উপভাষা হলো ভাষার নিচু মান বা কম মর্যাদা সম্পূর্ণ রূপ বা গ্রাম্য রূপ যার কোন লিখিত রূপ নেই বা এমন মনে করা হয় যে এটি মান ভাষা থেকে বিচ্যুত বা বিকৃত রূপ। এই

গবেষণাপত্রে অঞ্চল ভেদে ভাষার ভিন্নতার ব্যাপারে আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে। বাংলাদেশ বা বাংলাভাষী অঞ্চলের মধ্যে মাদারীপুর একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অঞ্চল। মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার এমন কিছু স্বতন্ত্র বৈশিষ্ট্য রয়েছে যা এটিকে পৃথক উপভাষা হিসেবে চিহ্নায়নের দাবি রাখে।

২. গবেষণা এলাকা নির্বাচন

মাদারীপুর জেলা হিসেবে স্বীকৃতি পায় পয়লা মার্চ, ১৯৮৪ সালে। পূর্বে এটি ফরিদপুর মহাকুমার অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল। এর উত্তরে ফরিদপুর ও মুন্সীগঞ্জ জেলা। পূর্বে শরীয়তপুর জেলা।পশ্চিমে ফরিদপুর ও গোপালগঞ্জ জেলা এবং দক্ষিণে গোপালগঞ্জ ও বরিশাল জেলা। এর জনসংখ্যা ১২,৯৩,০২৭ জন। এর আয়তন ১১২৫,৬৯ বর্গ কিলোমিটার। এটির উপজেলা পাঁচটি। মাদারীপুরে ১১০৮ টি গ্রাম আছে। এর প্রধান নদী সমূহ হলো আড়িয়াল খাঁ, কুমার, লোয়ার কুমার, কাটা কুমার, পদ্মা, বিল পদ্মা, ময়না কাটা এবং টরকি।

মাদারীপুর ঢাকার খুব কাছাকাছি। মাদারীপুর এবং ঢাকার বিভেদ হয়েছে পদ্মা নদী। ভৌগোলিকভাবে ঢাকা, ফরিদপুর, শরীয়তপুর এবং বরিশালের মাঝে পড়েছে মাদারীপুর।তাই মাদারীপুরের ভাষায় মান ভাষার সাথে খুব মিল পাওয়া যায়। তবে এই ভাষা ভৌগোলিকভাবে দক্ষিণাঞ্চলের হওয়ায় এর মধ্যে বরিশালের প্রভাব অনেক। আবার ফরিদপুরের নিকটবর্তী হয় ফরিদপুরের শব্দভাণ্ডারও এই অঞ্চলের ভাষায় পাওয়া যায়। তবে খেয়াল করলে দেখা যাবে মাদারীপুরের অধিবাসীদের ভাষায় আলাদা স্বতন্ত্রসূচক ভাষিক বৈশিষ্ট্য আছে।

মাদারীপুর জেলায় ৫ টি উপজেলা আছে তা হল: শিবচর, রাজৈর, মাদারীপুর সদর, কালকিনি ও ডাসার। গবেষণা পত্রে এই পাঁচ উপজেলার অধিবাসী থেকে সাক্ষাৎকার নেয়া হয়েছে।

৩.**প্রমিত ভাষা ও উপভাষা: তাত্ত্বিক বিবেচনা**

৩.১ **প্রমিত বা চলিত ভাষা**

প্রত্যেক দেশেই সর্বজন স্বীকৃত একটি মান ভাষা বা প্রমিত ভাষা বা চলিত ভাষা থাকে। বাংলাদেশও চলিত ভাষা রয়েছে যেটি সরকারি এবং দাপ্তরিক কাজে ব্যবহার হয়ে থাকে। প্রমিত শব্দের অর্থ প্রকৃষ্ট। সব দেশেই সর্বজন বোধ্য একটি ভাষা চালু থাকে যা শিক্ষিত ও নাগরিক সমাজের বিভিন্ন সভা,সেমিনার, অনুষ্ঠান ও রাজনৈতিক কর্মকাণ্ডে ব্যবহৃত হয়।১৯৪৭ সালের ভারত ভাগ হওয়ার পরে রাজনৈতিক বিভক্তির শিকার হয় বাংলা অঞ্চল । তবুও অঞ্চলের মানুষেরা তাদের ভাষা ত্যাগ করেনি। কলকাতা এবং ঢাকা উভয় অঞ্চলের প্রমিত ভাষা গড়ে উঠেছে নদীয়া অঞ্চলের উপভাষাকে কেন্দ্র করে। এই প্রমিত রূপটি ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে পাঠ্য পুস্তকে, অফিস আদালতে এবং যেকোনো সরকারি কাজে।

৩.২ **উপভাষা**

উপভাষা বলতে একটি ভাষার অবস্থাভিত্তিক রূপবৈচিত্র্যকে বোঝানো হয়(Britain 2010)। উপভাষা মূলত একটি ভাষার আঞ্চলিক রূপভেদ যা সব সময় ওই ভাষার অন্য উপভাষীর কাছে বোধগম্য নাও হতে পারে। যেমন চট্টগ্রামের উপভাষায় কথা বলা মানুষ রংপুরের উপভাষা বুঝতে পারবে না ঠিক তেমনি রংপুরের উপভাষায় কথা বলা মানুষ চট্টগ্রামের উপভাষা বুঝতে পারবে না। এখানে দূরত্ব একটি বড় নিয়ামক । যেহেতু উপভাষা মূলত ধ্বনিগত বৈশিষ্ট্য ও রূপমূলীয় বৈশিষ্ট্যের কারণে আলাদাভাবে পৃথক করা যায় কিন্তু এর ব্যাকরণ তার মান ভাষা হতে আলাদা নয় এবং এর কোন আলাদা লিপি নেই সে কারণেই উপভাষা পৃথক ভাষা হিসাবে মর্যাদা বা সম্মান পায় না। উপভাষা ব্যবহৃত হয় নিজস্ব

পরিবেশে, সংস্কৃতিতে এবং স্বতঃস্ফূর্তভাবে। বর্তমান সময়ে উপভাষা শুধু অঞ্চলেই সীমাবদ্ধ নয়। সমাজের বিভিন্ন শ্রেণির মধ্যেও ভাষার পার্থক্য আছে। ব্যক্তিভেদেও ভাষার পার্থক্য দেখা যায়।তবে অঞ্চলভিত্তিক উপভাষা এখনও গবেষণার বিশয়বস্তু। বাংলা ভাষায় প্রচুর উপভাষা রয়েছে।

৪.গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্য

এই গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্য হল মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা কেন স্বতন্ত্র এর কারণ অনুসন্ধান। কোন কোন ভাষা তাত্ত্বিক বৈশিষ্ট্য একে আলাদা উপভাষা করার পক্ষে শক্ত প্রমান দেয় তার উপস্থাপন। এইজন্য ভাষাবিজ্ঞানের মৌলিক বিষয় ধ্বনিতত্ত্ব, রূপতত্ত্ব, বাক্যতত্ত্ব, অর্থবিজ্ঞান এবং মাদারীপুরের শব্দ ভান্ডারের দিকে আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে। একই সাথে মাদারীপুরের ভাষার সাথে চলিত বাংলা ভাষার তুলনা করে এর স্বতন্ত্র প্রমাণ করা হয়েছে। এই গবেষণার মাধ্যমে মাদারীপুরের ভাষার বৈচিত্রতার বিশ্লেষণ উঠে এসেছে।

৫. সাহিত্য পর্যালোচনা

বাংলাদেশের উপভাষা নিয়ে বাংলাদেশ এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি বৃহৎ পরিসরে কাজ করেছে। ড. আবুল কালাম মনজুর মোর্শেদ সম্পাদিত ভাষা ও সাহিত্য (২০০৭) গ্রন্থে এর বিশদ আলোচনা রয়েছে। ভাষা ও সাহিত্য গ্রন্থে বাংলাদেশের ১৫ টি উপভাষা নিয়ে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে।
এর মধ্যে ঢাকা, বরিশাল, ফরিদপুরের উপভাষা নিয়ে আলোচনা করা হলেও মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা নিয়ে তেমন কোন আলোচনা নেই।

ভাষা এবং সাহিত্য গ্রন্থে যেসব উপভাষা নিয়ে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে প্রত্যেকটির ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক আলোচনা করাই হয়েছে। ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক আলোচনা বলতে ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক, রূপতাত্ত্বিক, বাক্যতাত্ত্বিক, অর্থ-তাত্ত্বিক এবং শব্দ ভান্ডারের দিকে আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে। এই গবেষণা পত্রটি ভাষা ও সাহিত্যের উপভাষার গঠন বিশ্লেষণকে উপজীব্য করে মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার ভাষাবৈজ্ঞানিক বিশ্লেষণ করা হয়েছে।

বাংলা উপভাষা নিয়ে প্রথম কাজ করেন একজন পর্তুগিজ ধর্ম যাজক, ফাদার ম্যানুয়াল দা আস সুম্পসাউ।তিনি পর্তুগিজ ভাষায় ১৭৩৪ খ্রিস্টাব্দে বাংলা ভাষার ব্যাকরণ ও শব্দকোষ রচনা করেন। এ ব্যাকরণ গ্রন্থে ঢাকা জেলার ভাওয়াল অঞ্চলের উপভাষা ব্যবহার করা হয়েছিল। অতঃপর উইলিয়াম কেরি রচিত "**কথোপকথন(১৮০১**)" এ বাংলাভাষী বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলের উপভাষা ব্যবহার লক্ষ্য করা যায়। উইলিয়াম কেরির প্রায় ১০০ বছর পর জর্জ আব্রাহাম গ্রীয়ারসন ১৯০৩ সালে প্রণয়ন করেন **Linguistic Survey of India** গ্রন্থটি। গ্রন্থের ১১ টি খন্ডের ৫ম খন্ডে লিপিবদ্ধ আছে বাংলা উপভাষার নমুনা। গ্রীয়ারসনের শ্রেণীকরণের মধ্যেই পূর্ব বঙ্গীয় অঞ্চলের ঢাকা, ময়মনসিংহ, টাঙ্গাইল, কুমিল্লা, বরিশাল, যশোর, নোয়াখালী, ফরিদপুর অন্তর্ভুক্ত। গ্রীয়ারসনের হাত ধরেই পরবর্তীতে বাংলা ভাষা বিজ্ঞানীরা বাংলা উপভাষা শ্রেণীকরণ পরিমার্জন করেছেন। এদের মধ্যে সুনীতি কুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়, ড.মুহাম্মদ শহীদুল্লাহ, সুকুমার সেন ,পরেশ চন্দ্র মজুমদার অন্যতম।

বাংলাদেশ হওয়ার পর উপভাষার পরিচয় ও বিশ্লেষণধর্মী মূল্যবান গ্রন্থ প্রকাশ করেছেন গোপাল হালদার **A comparative grammar of East Bengali Dialects (1986)** বাংলাদেশের উপভাষা নিয়ে কালজয়ী ভূমিকা রেখেছেন ডক্টর মুহম্মদ শহিদুল্লাহ "আঞ্চলিক ভাষার অভিধান' রচনা করে। আধুনিক সৃষ্টিশীল ব্যাকরণ পদ্ধতি, আধুনিক ক্ষেত্র সমীক্ষা পদ্ধতি অনুসরণ করে বাংলা

উপভাষার অভিধান প্রণয়ন করেছেন আবুল কালাম মনজুর মোর্শেদ । তার বই **A study of standard Bengali and the Noakhali dialect(1985)** আধুনিক উপভাষার তাত্ত্বিক ধারণা ও বাংলা উপভাষায় অপিনিহিতির প্রয়োগ নিয়ে অসাধারন একটি বই " **উপভাষা চর্চার ভূমিকা (১৯৯৪)** রচনা করেছেন ড. মনিরুজ্জামান। এসব বই বাংলা উপভাষা চর্চার নতুন দরজা খুলে দিয়েছে।

৬. গবেষণার পদ্ধতি

এই গবেষণা করতে ৩০ জন অংশগ্রহণকারীর খোলামেলা সাক্ষাৎকার নেওয়া হয়েছে। সাক্ষাৎকারের অভিগমন(approach) গুণগত পদ্ধতিতে রাখা হয়েছে। ৩০ জন অংশগ্রহণকারী মাদারীপুরের জেলার বিভিন্ন উপজেলার ছিলেন। উপরন্তু আমি এই অঞ্চলের স্থানীয় হওয়াতে এই অঞ্চলের ভাষিক জ্ঞান জন্মগত এবং নিজের অভিজ্ঞতা ও ভাষিক জ্ঞানও এই গবেষণা পত্রে স্থান পেয়েছে। খোলামেলা আলাপে উঠে এসেছে বিভিন্ন বস্তুর নাম, বিভিন্ন সম্বন্ধ সূচক বাক্য যেগুলিকে আলাদাভাবে সনাক্ত করা সম্ভব হয়েছে এবং এটি বিশ্লেষণ করা হয়েছে চলিত ভাষার সাথে তুলনা করে।
ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক দিকে বিশেষভাবে নজর দেওয়া হয়েছে। মাদারীপুরের ভাষার বিশেষ বৈশিষ্ট্য ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক তাই উচ্চারণ, স্বর এবং স্বরভঙ্গির দিকে বিশেষ নজর দেওয়া হয়েছে। এই গবেষণার আরেকটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দিক হচ্ছে অধিবাসীরা যে ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক রূপান্তর করেছেন তা বিশেষজ্ঞ দ্বারা বিশ্লেষণ এবং শনাক্তকরণ।

সাক্ষাৎকার হতে প্রাপ্ত ভাষাবিজ্ঞানের ধারণাসঙ্গত (conceptual) এবং নিয়ম (rule) মেনে বিশ্লেষণ করা হয়েছে।

৭. মাদারীপুর জেলার উপভাষার ভাষাতাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ

৭.১ ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ

ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক দিক থেকে মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বৈশিষ্ট্য সবচাইতে নজরে পড়ে। মাদারীপুরের ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক বৈশিষ্ট্য অন্য উপভাষা থেকে একটু আলাদা। তাই সহজেই মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা সনাক্তকরণ সম্ভব হয়।

৭.১.১ কন্ঠনালীও ঘোষ বা আন্ত- স্বরতন্ত্রীজাত ঘোষে পরিণত করার প্রবণতা বিদ্যমান

মাদারীপুর অধিবাসীদের উপভাষার যে বৈশিষ্ট্য সর্বাগ্রে চোখে পড়ে তা হল তারা উষ্ণ দন্তমূলীয় অঘোষ ধ্বনি (স) এবং উষ্ণ পশ্চাৎ দন্তমূলীয় ধ্বনি(শ) কে কন্ঠনালীও ঘোষ বা আন্ত- স্বরতন্ত্রীজাত ঘোষে (হ) রূপান্তর করার প্রবণতা বেশি।
যেমন:

চলিত বাংলা ভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা
সতীন ʃot̪in	হতীন hot̪in
শুটকি ʃutki	হুটকি hutki

শশুর ʃoʃur	হোউর ho͡u̯r
সুই ʃu͡i̯	হুই hu͡i̯
সুতা ʃut̪a	হুতা hut̪a
সাপ sap	হাপ hap
শাপলা ʃapla	হাপলা hapla
শাক ʃak	হাক hak
শোনা ʃona	হোনা hona
সেই ʃe͡i̯	হেই he͡i̯
সেগুলো ʃegulo	হেইয়া he͡i̯a
রসুন roʃun	রহুন rohun
শালিক ʃalik	হালিক halik
শোল মাছ ʃol macʰ	হোউল মাছ ho͡u̯l macʰ
বসা bɔʃa	বহা bɔha

৭.১.২ **সম্মুখ বিবৃত ধ্বনিকে কণ্ঠনালীও ঘোষ ধ্বনিতে রূপান্তর করার প্রবণতা বিদ্যমান**

আপনে apne	হাপনে hapne

৭.১.৩ **স্পৃষ্ট অল্পপ্রাণ ও মহাপ্রাণ(ক,খ) কে কন্ঠনালীও ঘোষ বা আন্ত- স্বরতন্ত্রীজাত ঘোষে (হ) রূপান্তর করার প্রবণতা রয়েছে**

যেমন:

চলিত বাংলা ভাষা	**মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা**
চৌকিদার co͡u̯kid̪ar	চৌহিদার co͡u̯hid̪ar
দেখি d̪ekʰi	দেহি d̪ehi
টাকা taka	টাহা taha
উত্তর দিকে ut̪t̪or d̪ike	উত্তর মুহি ut̪t̪or muhi

পশ্চিম দিকে poʃcim d̪ike	পশ্চিম মুহি poʃcim muhi
পূর্ব দিক purbo d̪ik	পূর্ব মুহি purbo muhi
দক্ষিণ দিকে d̪okkʰin d̪ike	দক্ষিণ মুহি d̪okkʰin muhi
এখনো ækʰono	এহনো ehono
তারপর t̪arpɔr	হেরপর herpɔr

৭.১.৪ **দন্তমূলীয় প্রতিবেষ্টিত অঘোষ মহাপ্রাণ স্পৃষ্ট ধ্বনি (ঠ) কে দন্তমূলীয় প্রতিবেষ্টিত ঘোষ স্বল্প প্রাণ স্পৃষ্ট ধ্বনিতে(ড) রূপান্তর করার প্রবণতা বেশি**

যেমন:

কাঁঠাল katʰal	কাডাল kadal
উঠান utʰan	উডান udan
পেটানো petano	পিডানো pidano

৭.১.৫

দ্বি স্বরধ্বনি(Dipthongs)

মাদারীপুরের উপভাষায় কিছু দ্বি স্বরধ্বনি পাওয়া যায়।

দ্বি স্বরধ্বনি	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	চলিত রূপ
উ + ই	মুই mui̯͡	আমি ami
আ + ও	আও ao̯͡	আসো aʃo
	পাও pao̯͡	পা pa
উ+ আ	কাউয়া kau̯͡ʲa	কাক kak
	দুয়ার d̪uʲar	দরজা d̪orɟa

৭.১.৬ **অপিনিহিতি(epenthesis/insertion)**

মাদারীপুরের ভাষায় অপিনিহিতির প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায় এবং কিছু ক্ষেত্রে অপিনিহিতি হলে শেষ ধ্বনি মহাপ্রাণ/ঘোষ থাকলে অল্পপ্রাণ/অঘোষ হয়ে যায়।

চলিত রূপ	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	অপিনিহিতি
ইঁদুর ĩd̪ur	ইন্দুর ind̪ur	ন ধ্বনি
পেঁয়াজ pẽʲaɟ	পিয়াইচ piʲai̯c	ই ধ্বনি
আখ akʰ	আউক au̯k	উ ধ্বনি
শোল ʃol	হোউল hou̯l	উ ধ্বনি
রাত rat̪	রাইত rai̯t̪	ই ধ্বনি
কালকে kalke	কাইলকে kai̯lke	ই ধ্বনি
কেটে kete	কাইটা kai̯ta	ই ধ্বনি

৭.১.৭ **স্বরধ্বনি**

মাদারীপুরের ভাষায় সাতটি মৌলিক স্বরধ্বনি পাওয়া যায় এগুলো হলো ই,আ,অ্যা, অ, ও ,উ।
কিছু শব্দ উচ্চারণ করার সময় মাদারীপুরের অধিবাসীরা স্বতন্ত্র সূচকভাবেই অ ধ্বনির পরিবর্তে অ্যা ধ্বনি ব্যবহার করে থাকে। যেমনঃ

কলা kɔla	ক্যালা kæla
কাঁদা kãd̪a	ক্যাদা kæd̪a

৭.২ **রূপতত্ত্ব**

৭.২.১ **দ্বিত্বকরণ (reduplication**)

মাদারীপুরের বিভিন্ন শব্দে দ্বিত্বকরণের ছাপ পাওয়া যায়। বেশিরভাগ ক্ষেত্রেই আংশিক (partial) দ্বিত্বকরণ দেখা যায়

চলিত ভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা
পাখির বাচ্চা pakʰir bacca	পক্কির ছাও pɔkkir cʰao̯
বাড়িতে baɽit̪e	বাইত্তে bai̯t̪t̪e
এতোটুকু et̪otuku	এটুক ettuk
শুনে ʃune	হুইন্না hui̯nna

৭.৩ **মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার শব্দ তালিকা**

মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার শব্দ তালিকা বাংলা ভাষার পাঁচটি পদের সমন্বয়ে আলাদাভাবে দেখানো হলো।একই সাথে এই শব্দের ব্যবহারিক প্রয়োগ চলিত ভাষার সাথে তুলনা করে দেখানো হলো

৭.৩.১ **সর্বনাম**

চলিত ভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	চলিত ভাষার বাক্য	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্য
আমি ami	মুই mui̯	আমি মুড়ি খাব	মুই উরুম খামু
আমার amar	মোর mor	আমার জামা	মোর জামা
আমাদের amad̪er	মোগো mogo	আমাদের পেঁপে গাছটা কেটে ফেলেছে	মোগো কম্ফা গাছটা কাইটা ফালাইছে
ওদের od̪er	হেগো hego	ওদের বাড়িতে যেও না	হ্যাগো বাইত্তে যাইস না
তার t̪ar	হ্যার hær	তার গরু অনেক দুধ দেয়	হ্যার গরু ম্যালা দুধ দেয়
তোমার t̪omar	তোমাগো t̪omago	তোমার বাড়ি কি দক্ষিণ দিকে?	তোমাগো বাড়ি কি দক্ষিণমুহি?

৭.৩.২ **বিশেষ্য**

চলিত ভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	চলিত ভাষার বাক্য	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্য
সকাল ʃɔkal	বেনা বেলা bena bela midai̯	সকালবেলা সে উত্তর দিকে গেছে	বেনা বেলা সে উত্তর মুহি গেছে
বাচ্চাকাচ্চা baccakacca	গুড়াগাড়া guɽagaɽa	বাচ্চাকাচ্চা নিয়ে আর পারিনা	গুড়াগাড়া লইয়া আর পারিনা
রান্নাঘর rannagʱɔr	চুলাহাল culahal	তোর মা রান্নাঘরে আছে	তোর মা চুলাহালে আছে
আবাদি জমি abad̪I ɟomi	চক cɔk	বাবা আবাদি জমি দেখতে গিয়েছেন	বাজান চকে গেছে

মুড়ি muɽi	উরুম urum	এক মুঠ মুড়ি খাব	এক মুঠ উরুম খামু
গুড় guɽ	মিডাই urum	গুড়ের পায়েস মজাদার	মিডাইয়ের জাও মজা
পেঁপে pẽpe	কম্ফা kɔmpʰa	অনেক বড় একটা পেঁপে	ম্যালা বড় একটা কম্ফা
প্লেট plet	থাল t̪ʰal	এক প্লেট ভাত খাও	এক থাল ভাত খাও
শরীরের ময়লা ʃorirer mɔʲla	ছাতা cʰat̪a	শরীরে অনেক ময়লা	শরীরে ছাতা ম্যালা
পাতিল pat̪il	পাইলা pai̯la	এক পাতিল রস আনছি	এক পাইলা রস আনছি
বারান্দা barand̪a	হাইত্তানা hai̯t̪t̪ana	বারান্দায় শুয়ে থাকো	হাইত্তানায় শুয়ে থাক
শিম ʃim	উশশি uʃʃi	শিম গাছটা বড় হয়েছে	উশশি গাছটা ডাঙ্গর হইছে
পেয়ারা peʲara	গয়া gɔʲa	একটা পেয়ারা দে	একটা গয়া দে
চিংড়ি মাছ ciŋɽi macʰ	ইচা মাছ ica macʰ	ছোট চিংড়ি মাছ দিয়ে রান্না করো	ছোট ইচা মাছ দিয়ে রান্না করো
মিষ্টি miʃti	মিঠা mitʰa	মিষ্টি নিয়ে এসেছি	মিঠা নিয়ে এসেছি
চিরুনি ciruni	কাহোই kahoi̯	বড় চিরুনি টা দে	বড় কাহোই টা দে
লুঙ্গি luŋgi	তবন t̪ɔbon	ও লুঙ্গি পড়তে পারে না	ও তবন ফেনতে পারে না
সরিষার তেল ʃoriʃar t̪el	ভালো তেল bʱalo t̪el	সরিষার তেল দিয়ে ইলিশটা রান্না করো	ভালো তেল দিয়ে ইলিশটা রান্না করো
হলুদ holud̪	ওলদি old̪i	আমি হলুদ রসুন খাই না	মুই ওলদি রহুন খাই না
শরীর ʃorir	গতর gɔt̪or	তার শরীর ফুলে গেছে	হের গতর ফুলে গেছে
নদী nod̪i	গাঙ gaŋ	সে নদীতে গেছে	হে গাঙে গেছে
কবুতর kobut̪ɔr	কইতর koi̯t̪ɔr	কবুতরটাকে ধরে আন	কইতর ডারে ধইরা

			আন
শীত ʃit̪	কাল kal	অনেক শীত করছে	জমছা কালে ধরছে
ঝোল ɟʰol	হুরা hura	একটু ঝোল নেন	একটু হুরা নেন

৭.২.৩ **বিশেষণ**

চলিত ভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	চলিত ভাষার বাক্য	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্য
টক tɔk	চুহা cuha	আমটা অনেক টক রে	আমটা ম্যালা চুহা
বড় bɔɽo	ডাঙ্গর daŋgor	ছেলেটা বড় হয়েছে	ছেলেটা ডাঙ্গর হইছে
এতটুকু et̪otuku	এট্টুক ettuk	এতোটুকু লবণ দাও	এট্টুক নুন দাও
লাল lal	রাঙা raŋa	লাল শার্ট পড়েছো কেন?	রাঙা শার্ট ফিনছো ক্যান?
সত্য ʃot̪t̪o	হাচা haca	সত্য কথা বলবে	হাচা কথা কবা
মিথ্যা mit̪t̪ʰa	মিছা micʰa	মিথ্যা কথা বলিস না	মিছা কথা কইস না
প্রচুর procur	জমছা ɟɔmcʰa	প্রচুর শীত করছে	জমছা কাল করছে

৭.২.৪ **ক্রিয়াপদ**

চলিত ভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	চলিত ভাষার বাক্য	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্য
গোসল করা gosol kɔra	নাইতে যাওয়া nai̯t̪e ɟao̯ʷa	আমি এখন গোসল করব	আমি এহন নাইতে যাবো
বসা bɔʃa	বহা bɔha	আপনি এখানে বসেন	হাপনি এহানে বহেন
বজ্রপাত হওয়া bɔɟropat̪ hoʷa	ঠাডা পড়া tʰada pɔɽa	বাহিরে বজ্রপাত হচ্ছে	বাইরে ঠাডা পরছে
বিদ্যুৎ চমকানো bid̪d̪ut̪ cɔmkano	জিল্কি মারে ɟilki mare	খুব বিদ্যুৎ চমকাচ্ছে	ম্যালা জিল্কি মারে

পেটানো petano	পেডানো pedano	চোরকে পেটানো হয়েছে	চোরকে পেডানো হয়েছে
পরা pɔra	ফেন্দা pʰend̪a	তুমি জামা পরে আছো কেন?	তুমি জামা ফিন্দা আছো কেন?
ফেলানো pʰelano	হালানো halano	লাঠিটা ফেলে দাও	লাঠিটা হালাই দাও
শুনে ʃune	হোনা hona	এদিক শুনে যাও	এদিক হুনে যাও
নেওয়া neo̯ʷa	নেমা nema	আরেকটু মাছ নিব নে	আরেকটু মাছ নেমা নে
চুপ থাকা cup t̪ʰaka	নেল্লা থাকা nella t̪ʰaka	এই চুপ থাক	আধে নেল্লা থাক
লাফ দেয়া lapʰ d̪eʲa	ফাল পাড়া pʰal paɽa	এই লাফ দিস না	আধে ফাল পাড়িস না
রেখে দেয়া rekʰe d̪eʲa	থুইয়া দেয়া t̪ʰui͡i̯a d̪eʲa	এখানে রেখে দাও	এহানে থুইয়া দে

৭.২.৫ **ক্রিয়া বিশেষণ**

চলিত ভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	চলিত ভাষার বাক্য	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্য
বেশি কথা বলা beʃi kɔt̪ʰa bɔla	প্যানা পাড়া pana paɽa	বেশি কথা বলোনা	প্যান পাইড়ো না
তারপর t̪arpɔr	হেরপর herpɔr	তারপর কোথায় গিয়েছিলে?	হেরপর কোনহানে গিয়েছিলে?
এখনো ækʰono͡	এহনো e̯hono	এখনো সেখানে যাও নাকি?	এহনো সেহানে যাও নাকি?
কোথায় kot̪ʰaʲ	কোনহানে konhane	কোথায় তোমার বাড়ি?	কোনহানে তোমাগো বাড়ি?

৭.২.৬ **সম্বোধন সূচক শব্দ**

মাদারীপুরের ভাষায় দুটি সম্মোধন সূচক শব্দ পাওয়া যায়। অপরিচিত কাউকে মিয়া বলে সম্বোধন করা হয় এবং পরিচিত মানুষকে আধে বলে সম্মোধন করা হয়।

মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্য	চলিত ভাষার বাক্য
ওই মিয়া oi̯ miʲa͡	ওই মিয়া হাপনে থাহেন কই ? oi̯ miʲa hapne t̪ʰahen koi̯ ?	আপনি থাকেন কোথায়?
আধে ad̪ʱe	আধে নেল্লা থাক ad̪ʱe nella t̪ʰak	এই চুপ থাক

৭.৪ **বাক্যতত্ত্ব**

মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা বাংলা চলিত ভাষার গঠনকেই মেনে চলে। মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার গঠন হলো কর্তা+ কর্ম+ ক্রিয়া । এখানে মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্যের কিছু বিন্যাস দেওয়া হল

বাক্যের ধরন	মাদারীপুরের উপভাষার বাক্য	চলিত ভাষার বাক্য
বিবৃতিমূলক বাক্য	বাবা বাইত্তে গেছে baba bai̯t̪t̪e gecʰe na	বাবা বাড়িতে গেছে
প্রশ্ন সূচক বাক্য	মুই কিয়ারছি? mui̯ kiʲarcʰi?	আমি কি করেছি?
না বোধক বাক্য	হেরা কামডা করবে না। hera kamda korbe	তারা কাজটি করবে না
জটিল বাক্য	যে গতর খাটে, সে ভালো থাহে। ɟe gɔt̪or kʰate, ʃe bʰalo t̪ʰahe	যে পরিশ্রম করে সে ভালো থাকে

৭.৫ **অর্থতত্ত্ব**

মাদারীপুরের ভাষায় কিছু কিছু শব্দের আমরা দুটি বিভিন্ন জায়গায় এর অর্থের প্রয়োগ দেখতে পাই এরকম কিছু শব্দ হল

মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	দুটি ভিন্ন অর্থ
চক cɔk	চাষাবাদের জমি
	লেখার বস্তু

মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	দুটি ভিন্ন অর্থ

সিলেট silet	বাংলাদেশের জেলা
	বাচ্চাদের লেখা শেখার বস্তু

মাদারীপুরের উপভাষা	দুটি ভিন্ন অর্থ
ছাতা cʰat̪a	শরীরের ময়লা
	বৃষ্টি বা রোদ থেকে রক্ষা পাওয়ার জিনিস

৭.৫.১ **বিপরীত শব্দ**

হাচা haca	মিছা micʰa
এহানে ehane	সেহানে ʃehane
দুফার d̪upʰar	রাইত rait̪t̪o
উঁচা ũca	নিচা nica

৮. গবেষণা ফলাফল ও আলোচনা

প্রাপ্ত উপাত্ত বিশ্লেষণ করে এই সিদ্ধান্তে আসা যায় যে

১. মাদারীপুরের ভাষা একটি উপভাষা
২. এই ভাষায় বৈচিত্র্য রয়েছে
৩. এই উপভাষায় ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক স্বতন্ত্র সূচক বৈশিষ্ট্য বিদ্যমান
৪. এই ভাষার রূপমূল তত্ত্ব অন্য উপভাষা থেকে আলাদা
৫. এই উপভাষার নিজস্ব শব্দ ভান্ডার আছে
৬.এই উপভাষার পদক্রমে ব্যতিক্রমতা লক্ষণীয়

৯. উপসংহার

মাদারীপুরের ভাষা বাংলা চলিত ভাষা থেকে খুব বেশি পার্থক্য দেখায় না। যেহেতু মাদারীপুর বরিশাল এবং ফরিদপুরের খুব নিকটবর্তী সুতরাং এই ভাষায় এই দুই জেলার ভাষার প্রভাব আছে। বিশেষত সেই প্রভাব টা দেখা যায় তাদের উচ্চারণে। বিশেষ করে মাদারীপুর জেলার কালকিনি উপজেলার অধিবাসীদের উচ্চারণ অনেক বেশি বরিশাল প্রভাবিত। একইভাবে শিবচর উপজেলা এবং রাজৈর উপজেলায় ঢাকা এবং ফরিদপুরের ভাষার খানিকটা প্রভাব দেখা যায়। মাদারীপুরের প্রায় চার মাস বর্ষাকালের সময় পানির নিচে আবাদি জমিগুলো থাকে। কিছু বছর আগেও বর্ষাকালের সময়টায় মাদারীপুর হতে কৃষকরা বিভিন্ন এলাকায় যেতেন এবং বিভিন্ন জেলার কৃষকরা ধান কাটার সময় মাদারীপুরে আসেন। এর ফলে ভাষার দেয়া নেয়ার ঘটনা ঘটে। মাদারীপুর জেলার অনেক শব্দ উত্তরাঞ্চল জেলার অনেক শব্দের সাথে মিলে যায়। সার্বিক দিক

বিবেচনা করে দেখা যায় মাদারীপুর জেলার শব্দের তালিকাএবং ধ্বনিতাত্ত্বিক বৈশিষ্ট্য একদম আলাদাভাবে সনাক্তকরণ সম্ভব। এই গবেষণার মাধ্যমে এটি সফলভাবেই প্রমাণিত হয়েছে। মাদারীপুর একটি দ্রুত উন্নয়নশীল অঞ্চল। এই অঞ্চলের বেশিরভাগ পরিবারের কেউ না কেউ বিদেশে অবস্থান করে। দ্রুত উন্নয়নশীলতা ভাষায় কি ধরনের প্রভাব ফেলছে তা পরবর্তী গবেষণার বিবেচ্য বিষয় হতে পারে ।

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A NOTE ON CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC GAPS IN SETHU'S TRANSLATED FICTIONS

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A R T I C L E I N F O

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A B S T R A C T

This study aims to investigate the cultural and linguistic gaps found in culture-bound expressions in Sahithya Akademi-winning writer Sethu's translated novels, titled Pandavapuram (1981) and Adayalangal (2005). This study compares the different cultural connotations of expressions in Malayalam text with its translated English version. It covers a broad range of culture-bound words that are associated with the accepted Hindu religious practices as existing in Kerala society. Also explained is nonequivalence, the identification of the main difficulties in translating these culture-specific words into English and the strategy as used by the translator.

1. Introduction

Translation is an artistic endeavor, skillfully conveying the author's thoughts in a language vastly different from the original. This definition inherently implies the necessity of preserving the essence of the expression in translation, avoiding any unnecessary additions or omissions. Undoubtedly, translation serves as a vital tool for cross-cultural communication. As Duff (1987) aptly puts it, translation is akin to "Crossing the Border" from one language to another. One fundamental tenet of translation is faithfulness to the source material, ensuring the accurate transmission of the original cultural nuances.

Thus, translation hinges on two pivotal factors: precision and expressiveness. In our contemporary world, where international and intercultural communication is ubiquitous, addressing the chasms in culture and language becomes paramount. Despite the myriad perspectives from linguists and translators, research specifically exploring Malayalam-to-English translation remains surprisingly scarce.

Language serves as humanity's foremost medium of communication, profoundly influenced by culture and beliefs, whether consciously or unconsciously. Each language, as a unique construct, organizes the world in its distinct way, revealing that languages are not mere labels for pre-existing categories; they craft their own categories. With their individual forms, codes, and rules governing meaning construction, languages give rise to cultural disparities and equivalence challenges because each language carries its unique cultural and historical baggage. The variations between cultures can pose more formidable obstacles for translators than structural linguistic differences. As Casegrande (1954) astutely notes, "In effect, one does not translate

language; one translates cultures," echoing the complex relationship between language and culture.

Culture, when interwoven with translation, becomes a multifaceted concept. Each translator harbors their own beliefs about the influence of culture on language and the interplay between different languages. Culture permeates the way people think, speak, and live, expressed through language and, thus, often posing difficulties. As Nida asserts, "differences between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure" (Nida, 1964).

Culture-specific terms in translation refer to items that present challenges when transferred from a source text to a target text. These challenges stem from the absence of the referred item in the target culture or its differing intertextual status in the cultural framework of the target readers. Newmark (1988) categorizes culture-specific items as cultural words, dividing them into five groups: ecology, material culture artifacts (such as food, clothing, homes, and transportation), social culture (encompassing work and leisure), organizations, customs, activities, procedures, concepts (including political and administrative aspects), and religious and artistic elements, as well as gestures and customs.

In the translation of texts, especially those with social, religious, geographical, political, literary, and media content, culture-specific expressions often pose significant challenges. Translators may choose to employ a more liberal translation approach, omitting explanations for culture-specific terms related to Hinduism, which can create cultural and linguistic gaps. Translation can be seen as a process of "re-coding" or altering the surface structure while retaining the deep structure beneath. These cultural gaps present challenges for translators during cross-cultural translation when there is no direct equivalent in the target language. In such situations, translators frequently grapple with culture-specific items, either omitting them or substituting them with words from the target culture, perpetuating the issue of cultural gaps.

Readers of the source text, anchored in their native culture, naturally interpret concepts through the lens of their cultural references, an instinctive inclination known as "intuitive competence." Cultural phenomena can be culture-specific, existing in a particular form or function in only one of the two cultures being compared, such as Malayalam and English. This does not imply that the phenomenon has no existence in other cultures, only that it takes a different form. Hence, in linguistic translation, a comprehensive understanding of the cultural context of words is imperative. Cultural expressions used in social, religious, geographical, political, literary, and media texts constitute a major problem many times while translating a source text language to the target text language. The translators have chosen here to have more free translation, omitting the explanation of culture-specific terms associated with Hinduism.

2. Literature Review

Catford (1965) defines translation as the process of substituting textual content in one language with equivalent content in another language. Savory (1968) posits that translation relies on an underlying equivalence of thought, which underpins varying verbal expressions. According to Richards (1983), culture encompasses the complete set of beliefs, attitudes, customs, behaviors, social practices, and more within a specific society. Sapir and Whorf highlight the deep

interconnection between language and culture, emphasizing that language cannot exist without being rooted in a cultural context, and no culture can thrive without the foundation of natural language structure. Thus, language is the core within the body of culture, with their interaction sustaining life energy (cited in Bassnett (1991)). Lithuanian linguist and translator Lionginas Pazusis employs the term "realia" to describe words and phrases lacking equivalents due to their association with a specific nation and culture. He categorizes them based on subject matter, such as geographical, ethnographical, national, and international, as well as temporal distinctions, distinguishing between modern and historical (Pazusis, 2014).

This study explores the issue of cultural and linguistic gaps in translation, using examples from the translation of works by a well-known Malayalam prose writer, Sethu, into English. The discussion delves into the culture-specific terms related to Hinduism in the historical context of Kerala, as depicted in Sethu's Malayalam novels. The two novels under consideration are "Pandavapuram" (1981) and "Adayalangal" (2005), both authored by Sethu. "Pandavapuram" is a text that engages readers in a unique exploration of the human psyche, employing a blend of realistic and non-realistic narrative techniques. It presents a profoundly feminist portrayal of the central character, Devi, and received the Kerala Sahitya Akademi Award in 1982. This novel represents a notable achievement in modernist literature. "Adayalangal" (2005) by Sethu highlights Priyamvada's unconventional nature as a departure from traditional gender stereotypes within Indian society. Sethu's treatment of his female characters delves deep into their psychological complexity, serving as an inspiration for women seeking to challenge their societal roles. Throughout various novels, the author strives to motivate readers to recognize that women should not be relegated to subordinate positions, as traditionally depicted.

Translation gaps occur when a lexical word form corresponding to a specific concept is lacking in a given language, leading to significant challenges in translation. Lexical gaps give rise to substantial translation difficulties when certain words present in the source language's culture have no equivalent in the target language's culture. For instance, many terms associated with Kerala's past Hindu religion and culture do not have direct counterparts in the English language. This study aims to provide an overview of the cultural and linguistic gaps and the issue of non-equivalence stemming from culture-specific terms related to Hinduism in Kerala's historical context as presented in these translated texts.

In the act of translation, the translator often employs a strategy involving the removal or exclusion of culture-specific lexical terms, phrases, and even sentences from the source language, while condensing them into the target language. This process typically takes place at the syntactic level of translation. Notably, the culture-specific elements that are frequently omitted pertain to Hinduism and the unique cultural context of Kerala. When a translator chooses to omit certain linguistic elements, it can have implications for the faithfulness of the translation in the pursuit of effective communication.

In addition to omission, another technique frequently utilized by the translator is paraphrasing. Paraphrasing is a method of achieving explanatory equivalence, where the meaning of a source language term is elucidated using different words in the target language to enhance comprehension. In the process of paraphrasing, the semantic content expressed in the source language by a single term is restructured at the syntactic level. As per the definition provided by

TL. Newmark (1981), paraphrasing can be described as the amplification or clarification of the meaning of a specific segment of the text. When the target language lacks a direct equivalent for a source language term, a concise description is often substituted to bridge the linguistic and cultural gap.

3. Textual Examples

In India, different religious beliefs and their historical allusions should be soaked in the expression of their own language. There are many linguistic and culturally bound words like "Ayiramthiri, "Kalikkavu,", "Thookkam," etc. that are new to the target text reader. But the target text footnotes did not seem to be sufficient to render the fully implied meaning of the cultural practices in the Kerala region. For example, the target text gives footnotes on words such as follows:

- "**Kalikkavu**" is a diminutive temple venerating the fierce form of the goddess Kali. This sacred site houses idols of Kali, Ayyappan, and Ganapathi. It's important to note that there is indeed a place named Kalikavu in Kerala's Malappuram district. Within this locale lies the Kali temple, which translates to "The Grove of Lord Kali." This temple is renowned for a significant ritual known as "Kalamezhuth."
- "**Aayiramthiri**" or "thousand wicks" holds special significance within the Brahmin community of Kerala, particularly the "Nambudiris." Marriage customs among the Nambudiris encompass a series of sixteen rites referred to as "Shodasakriyakal." These rituals strictly adhere to Vedic traditions and draw upon the symbolism of the five elements of life, with fire, or "Agni," taking center stage. Hence, a Nambudiri wedding can be aptly described as "agnisakshi," with the pivotal moment involving the bride lighting a thousand threads that she has prepared and moving them in a circular fashion. This rite, known as "aayiramthiriuzhiyal" or "circulating a thousand threads," is mirrored in the groom's rituals with the use of a water-filled pot, called "panakkudamuzhiyal," aimed at warding off malevolent influences.
- "**Thookkam**" is a traditional Hindu ritual art form typically enacted in honor of Goddess Kali within Kerala's temples. This performance is intricately linked to the annual temple festival and carries historical connotations related to human sacrifice. Predominantly showcased in Kali temples and shrines across southern India, especially in regions surrounding Travancore and Kochi in Kerala, "Thookkam" is a special devotional offering. During this ritual, devotees are suspended on hooks that pierce their flesh, an act resembling the divine bird eagle, Garuda, the mount of Lord Vishnu. Performers don crowns, wings, and beak-like eagle attire. This ritual is a solemn act of devotion performed by villagers in various parts of Kerala, culminating with a gathering of Garudas from different villages in the temple. After the midnight ritual at homes, the Garudas congregate at the temple to partake in a symbolic dance, concluding the observance at dawn.

There are many linguistic and culturally bound words that are associated with Hindu religious practices are omitted by the translator, such as "Ganapati Homam", "Irikkapindam", "Mashinottam" "Balikkaakka", "Ashtamangalyam," and "Ellasu”. Let us look into their significance:

- The term "**Ganapati Homam**" (p. 30) in the source text sheds light on the religious practices in Kerala. Its omission in translation has a detrimental impact, as it serves as a prime example of how deeply ingrained these religious rituals are in the daily lives of people in Indian culture. Ganapati Homam is a traditional Hindu ritual dedicated to Lord Ganesha, performed through fire rituals. In the narrative, it is conducted when Priyamvada and Nitu move into a new flat. It is believed in India that performing this pooja bestows wealth and prosperity upon the practitioners throughout their lives.
- The word "**Mashinottam**" (pp. 239) in the source text represents an ancient Hindu religious belief—a spell used by ancient practitioners to locate lost or missing items. This practice lacks a scientific basis and involves inscribing special ink on a betel leaf, prepared through a 41-day fast. Children were often chosen for this ritual, as it was believed their innocence would ensure accurate predictions. In the target text, "Mashinottam" is translated as "diviners" (p. 217), which fails to capture the true essence of this practice.
- In the source text, the author mentions "**Irikkapindam**" (p. 274), a Hindu rite within the Brahmin community. It literally translates to "Rites for the dead while a person is alive." However, the translator's phrase, "women who consider their husbands as part of their past" (p. 254), does not provide an equivalent translation, resulting in a significant cultural gap that diverges from the source text's narrative.
- "**Balikkaakka**" (pg. 144) is the Indian jungle crow, and in Hinduism, it is believed that this bird carries offerings to the deceased. People offer food to crows during the Shradha, a ceremony paying homage to ancestors. The term is wrongly translated as "hawk" (p. 130) in the target text, which refers to a bird of prey with different characteristics. This mistranslation misrepresents the cultural significance of the practice.
- The word "**Ashtamangalyam**" (p. 77) is a vital component of Kerala weddings and rituals. The translator's use of "customary formalities" (p. 69) as a translation falls short, as it does not convey the importance and role of this practice in these ceremonies. "Ashtamangalyam" in Kerala culture consists of eight auspicious items arranged on a special plate dedicated to God. These objects include Kuruva, a mirror, Purna Kumbha, clothes, a lamp, Niranazi, gold, and Mangalatri. The Ashtamangalyam plate used in weddings symbolizes these elements and their connection to the divine.
- "**Elassu**" (p. 166) was chanted by the priest and signifies a metal adornment worn as a waistbelt or girdle-like ornament by South Asian, particularly Hindu, individuals. This term and its contextual significance, which provides insight into the character and religious practices prevalent in Kerala, are entirely omitted in the translation. This sanctified ornament holds deep significance in Hindu culture and is tied by an astrologer while reciting sacred mantras to instill positivity and protection from negative influences. It is a sacred ornament or thread of paramount importance in the historical context of Kerala culture, and its significance should have been explained in the translation.

Additional Hindu religious terms that lack direct lexical equivalents in Malayalam include the following:

Nakshatras: In Hindu astronomy, these represent 27 specific sectors along the ecliptic. They are documented in the Vedanga Jyotisha, one of the earliest Indian texts on astrology, dating back to the final centuries BCE. Much like distinct planets have their

individual orbital periods, the moon also has its own. Nakshatras are essentially divisions corresponding to the moon's orbit, with the moon requiring 27 days to complete one full revolution in its orbit.

Ashtami: This term signifies the eighth day in the Hindu lunar calendar and is associated with a particular lunar asterism. It is noteworthy as the birth star of Lord Krishna. According to scriptures, Ashtami and Navami are considered propitious for activities such as shopping and commencing new endeavors. Both of these days are regarded as "Abujh Muhurt," signifying a special and auspicious time. As per belief, on Ashtami, the goddess Kali emerged from the foreheads of Devi and Durga, subsequently vanquishing the demons Chanda, Munda, and Raktabija.

Bharani: This is the second lunar asterism and is associated with the concept of a high achiever or celestial star. It holds the second position in the realm of Hindu astronomy and is aligned with Yama, the god of death, or Kali.

Ashwati/Aswini/Aswinitra: This represents the first lunar asterism in astrology. The symbol associated with this nakshatra, a golden horse's head, conveys the idea of a "fire horse" or "grace."

There are also many linguistic and culturally bound words that are associated with Hindu Vedic astrology that are omitted by the translator, like "Vavum Sankranthiyum", "Rahukaalam", "Rashiporutham," etc., which are all relevant to discussing the prevalent astrological practices performed in Kerala. A target text without these words seems to be insufficient to render the full implied meaning of the astrological practices in the Kerala region.

To provide further clarification, the omitted terminologies in the target text encompass the following:

"Vavum Sankranthiyum" (p. 79): This term denotes the conjunction of two significant events in the Indian calendar. "Vavu" signifies two specific days: "Velutha Vavu," which translates to the Full Moon Day, and "Karutha Vavu," which corresponds to the No Moon Day. Hindu devotees observe penance, referred to as "Vrutha" in Indian terminology, on these two days. "Sankranti" is a Sanskrit word associated with the transition of the sun from one zodiac sign to another in Indian astronomy. It serves as the marker for the commencement of a month in many southern Indian regions, as well as in a few northern areas. Sankranti also demarcates the conclusion of each month, with the subsequent day heralding the start of a new month.

"Rahukala" (p. 132): In Hindu astrology, this term designates an inauspicious period during the day, spanning approximately 90 minutes between sunrise and sunset. In India, "Rahu Kaal" signifies a time considered unfavorable for commencing any new activities. The specific instances of "Rahu Kaal" may vary from place to place. In the Hindu solar calendar, "Rahu" is considered a shadow planet and holds the title of the ruler of meteors among the "Navagrahas," the nine planets mentioned in Hindu texts. It is taken into account in a predetermined manner during designated times on various days of the week in the Indian calendar.

"Rashiporuthams" or "Poruthams" (p. 154): These terms pertain to compatibility analysis criteria employed in Kundali matching within Indian Vedic astrology. "Poruthams" explores various dimensions of compatibility between a couple, specifically a man and a woman, based on the positions of their planets in the Vedic chart.

In the realm of translation, the pursuit of finding an equivalent word in the target language to faithfully convey the original source text's meaning has long been a cherished ideal. However, it's widely recognized that achieving total equivalence is an elusive goal. This challenge arises because individuals from diverse cultures often express concepts in distinct ways, and the disparities in thought processes can complicate the translation of implied meanings. These difficulties are primarily rooted in unfamiliarity with cultural expressions, the struggle to attain equivalence in the second language, the ambiguity of certain cultural terms, and a lack of familiarity with effective translation techniques and strategies. To address the intricacies of culture-specific words, the only viable options are thorough explanations through paraphrasing or the use of footnotes. In cases where specific cultural terms lack direct counterparts in the target language, footnotes serve as the means to elucidate their meanings.

Gaber (2005) has put forth that culture-bound words can be tackled using five distinct techniques. The first approach involves utilizing "cultural equivalent" words or phrases, effectively transplanting cultural elements into the target language. The second technique, known as "functional translation," entails employing words or phrases with the same functional roles as in the source language. The third strategy is "paraphrasing," in which the translator provides a clear explanation of the word or phrase's meaning in the source language, exemplified by the translation of a term like "thesaurus." The fourth method, "glossing," entails offering supplementary information in the form of footnotes or integrated explanations within the text to clarify cultural words or expressions.

In summary, the domain of cross-cultural translation is fraught with uncertainties. No definitive, one-size-fits-all solutions exist, and numerous authors offer their perspectives based on their individual research. What is clear, however, is that cultural disparities indeed present challenges for translators working to convert a source text into a target language. Consequently, each translator must make informed decisions about the methods and approaches best suited to bridge the gaps that emerge during the translation process.

Conclusion

A proficient translator must possess a distinct set of finely honed skills to successfully accomplish the formidable task of translation. Their ultimate objective is to faithfully convey both the nuanced meaning and the distinctive stylistic essence of the Malayalam language. This demands more than mere proficiency in the vocabulary and cultural nuances of the source language society; it necessitates an in-depth grasp of the emotional resonances encapsulated within words and a keen understanding of the intricate web of thought processes that underpin the culture.

Navigating culture-related challenges in these translation endeavors is an intricate and demanding feat. To accurately transmit the implied meaning, translators grapple with complexities that go beyond the scope of this article. Furthermore, a myriad of culture-related translation conundrums and innovative solutions remain unexplored, presenting an expansive domain for exploration and growth. In the evolving landscape of translation, there is an

abundance of knowledge yet to be unearthed, promising continued opportunities for learning and refinement.

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Exploring Multilingual Practices in Indian Classrooms - Yay or Nay?

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A B S T R A C T
This synthesis paper aims to investigate the attitudes of teachers towards the use of multiple languages in the classroom and to explore the associated benefits and challenges. The utilization of multiple languages in educational settings has gained considerable attention in recent years due to the increasing multiculturalism and linguistic diversity in many societies. By examining secondary sources, this paper delves into the perceptions and experiences of teachers in embracing multilingualism as a pedagogical approach. The findings shed light on the advantages and obstacles of incorporating multiple languages in the classroom, providing valuable insights for educators and policymakers.

1. Introduction

In today's interconnected and multicultural world, linguistic diversity has become a prominent feature of many educational settings. As societies continue to experience an influx of diverse populations, the concept of using multiple languages in the classroom has gained traction as a pedagogical approach. This synthesis paper aims to delve into the attitudes of teachers towards the incorporation of multiple languages in educational contexts, as well as to investigate the associated benefits and challenges.

The utilization of multiple languages in the classroom is grounded in the belief that language is not just a means of communication but also a powerful tool for fostering inclusive and effective learning environments. By embracing linguistic diversity, educators seek to create classrooms that respect and value students' diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This approach acknowledges the potential of students' native languages as valuable assets for learning, rather than viewing them as obstacles to overcome.

While there is a growing recognition of the benefits of multilingualism in education, it is crucial to question, “Are all the teachers and other stakeholders embrace multilingualism?” My answer would be ‘Certainly not’. Many of the teachers and other stakeholders are not willing to implement multilingualism in the classroom due to various reasons. When I had a talk with some of the government school teachers in Tamilnadu about multilingualism, some of them are not aware of the concept of multilingualism itself and some gave the constraints behind the implementation of it. This conversation made me realize and demystified the myth that ‘everyone welcomes multilingualism’. I realized that there are different perspectives on multilingualism, how much policymakers, educators, and researchers stress the benefits of the multilingual classroom, ultimately the front-line worker i.e. teacher who transfers the knowledge

has to believe in it. I was under the illusion whatever we as researchers do, it reaches the teachers and they implement it in the classroom. This conversation gave me the shocking reality that cleared the fog in my eyes that, not every teacher is aware of and embracing multilingualism. This synthesis paper aims to explore the attitudes and perspectives of teachers who may harbor reservations or hesitations toward multilingualism in the classroom.

Despite the evidence supporting the advantages of using multiple languages in educational settings, there exists a range of factors that contribute to the resistance or reluctance of some teachers and stakeholders. These individuals may hold various beliefs, concerns, or misconceptions about the implementation of multilingual instruction. Understanding their perspectives is essential to address these reservations and promote an inclusive and comprehensive approach to multilingual education.

By synthesizing existing literature from secondary sources, this paper aims to provide insights into the perspectives and reservations held by teachers regarding multilingualism in the classroom.

2. Exploring the attitudes -Yay or Nay?

2.1. Multilingualism - An Overview

Multilingualism refers to the ability to speak, understand, and use multiple languages proficiently. The definition of multilingualism itself is a little problematic because of the diversity and complexity of understanding them. For instance, Joshua Fishman(1970), a renowned sociolinguist, defines multilingualism as "the ability of a speaker to use two or more languages for communication within a single speech community" (p. 5). This definition emphasizes the use of multiple languages within a particular speech community. In addition to that, "The ability of societies to support and promote more than one language or script, as well as individual speakers' and communities' ability to use more than one language for communication, either by choice or by necessity" *(UNESCO, 200*3). This definition highlights both the societal and individual aspects of multilingualism.

François Grosjean(2010), a renowned expert in bilingualism and multilingualism, defines multilingualism as "the phenomenon whereby individuals or communities can communicate in more than one language" (p. 395). This definition emphasizes the communicative aspect of multilingualism. On the other hand, Colin Baker (2011), a leading expert on bilingualism and multilingualism, defines multilingualism as "the ability of an individual or a community to use more than two languages effectively and appropriately for communication in a range of domains" (p. 3). This definition highlights the effective and appropriate use of multiple languages across different domains of communication.

Multilingualism is "the ability of societies, institutions, groups, or individuals to employ two or more languages either individually or in societal interaction in various domains of life (home, work, school, governance, etc.)", The European Commission (2011) defines it. This definition emphasizes the use of multiple languages in different domains and contexts. Furthermore, Li Wei (2018), a leading scholar in multilingualism, defines multilingualism as "the presence of two or more languages in a person or community, where a person or community has competence in more than one language, with varying degrees of proficiency and use" (p. 5). This definition emphasizes the varying degrees of proficiency and language use within multilingual individuals or communities.

These definitions by prominent scholars emphasize communication, proficiency, and the use of multiple languages within specific contexts. As one can see, there is a diversity in defining the term 'multilingualism' which itself may provide confusion among the stakeholders.

2.2. Understanding Multilingualism in the Indian Context

India is a linguistically varied nation, with a wide variety of languages being spoken in different parts of the country. It is home to numerous regional languages, such as Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, and Gujarati, among others. A dynamic and diverse linguistic landscape characterizes the nature of multilingualism in Indian classrooms. Students have a variety of mother tongues, languages, and dialects that they bring with them from their various linguistic backgrounds. The educational system is faced with both opportunities and challenges as a result of this language variety.

The inclusion of a regional or local language alongside the national language, which is frequently Hindi or English, is one of the most important features of multilingualism in Indian classrooms. In many Indian states, there are distinct regional tongues that are taught at educational institutions (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2011). For example, in Tamil Nadu, the medium of instruction is Tamil, while in West Bengal, it is Bengali (Sridhar, 2016).

In such multilingual classrooms, students simultaneously learn and advance their ability in several languages. Depending on the situation, the discussion, or the social dynamics, they may switch between languages. This code-switching and code-mixing is a typical occurrence, and children frequently utilize many languages to express their ideas, make sense of topics, and interact with peers and professors (Ramanathan, 2005).

The teaching and learning methods used by educators are also influenced by the presence of multiple languages in the classroom. Educators in multilingual classrooms employ translanguaging strategies, which involve using multiple languages to enhance learning (García & Li Wei, 2014). Translanguaging strategies, which strategically use many languages to aid in comprehension and learning, are frequently used by teachers. Translanguaging takes into account students' linguistic resources and encourages them to use their native tongue to help their comprehension of brand-new ideas before progressively switching to the target language (García, 2009).

Nevertheless, there are drawbacks to multilingualism in addition to its advantages. The disparity in linguistic proficiency among pupils is one issue (Mohanty, 2006). Some pupils might be better at speaking the local tongue, while others might be better at Hindi or English. Communication, comprehension, and engagement in the classroom may all be impacted by this disparity.

The dearth of resources and content in several languages is another problem. Despite efforts to provide learning materials and textbooks in regional languages, the accessibility and caliber of these resources might vary between locales and languages. This may lead to unequal educational opportunities and prevent all pupils from being included.

Increased awareness of the value of encouraging multilingualism in Indian classrooms has recently emerged. Inclusionary language policies that recognize and value the linguistic diversity of students have been developed. The objective is to establish a setting in which learners can study many languages, preserve their linguistic and cultural identities, and become proficient in both regional and national languages.

3. Attitudes of Teachers towards multilingualism

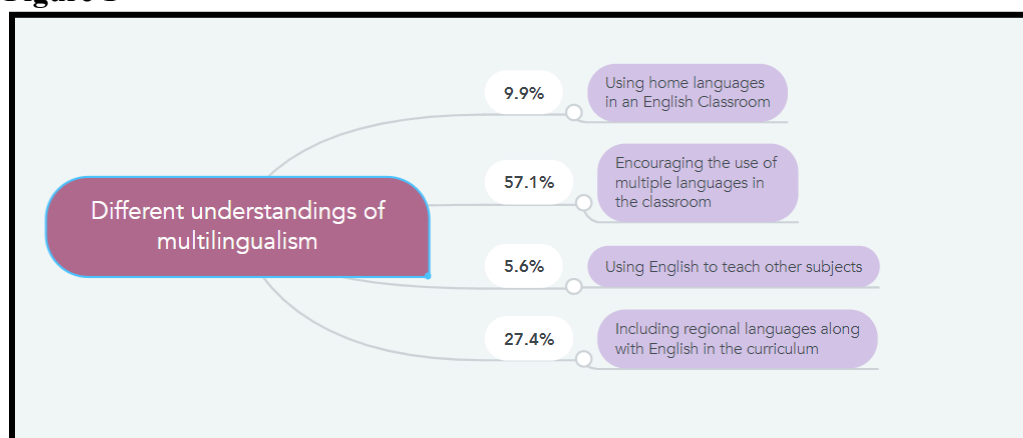
Numerous research suggests that the majority of educators and students support multilingualism. Being multilingual enriches cultural diversity and improves communication abilities (Ramanathan,2005). Teachers understand how crucial it is for pupils to continue to be proficient in their home tongue while also learning new languages. Moreover, Students frequently have a strong bond with their home tongue since language and cultural identity are intimately related As a result, students may take pride in their ability to speak various languages and appreciate the chance to do so (Mohanty, 2013).

However, some teachers and students may face challenges related to language proficiency imbalances or limited resources, which can lead to negative attitudes toward multilingualism. In some cases, students from dominant language backgrounds may hold negative attitudes toward minority languages or dialects (Sridhar, 2016). There can be a perceived language hierarchy in classrooms, with Hindi and English often enjoying higher prestige. This hierarchy can influence attitudes, as students and teachers may view proficiency in Hindi or English as a marker of success or social mobility (Ramanathan, 2005).

4. Analysis of the report by MacmillanEducationn on perspectives/ attitudes of teachers is discussed below

The survey of Macmillan Education India (MCI) was self-initiated to develop a self-learning online course on multilingualism for the British Council. The questionnaire was employed with both open-ended and closed-ended questions to find the perceptions of teachers on multilingualism and its significance in Indian classrooms. From the survey, we could find 6 themes that help us understand their perceptions. Almost 923 teachers participated from different parts of India aged between 18 to 50. Among them, 75% of them were female and the rest are male participants. Moreover, 83% of teachers were from North India, leaving a small portion to South Indians. Teachers at Private and Government institutions and teachers who take Online classes at the moment participated. Besides, teachers were working at a foundational level, preparation level, middle school and secondary school, and urban, semi-urban, semi-rural, and rural area schools in the targeted areas.

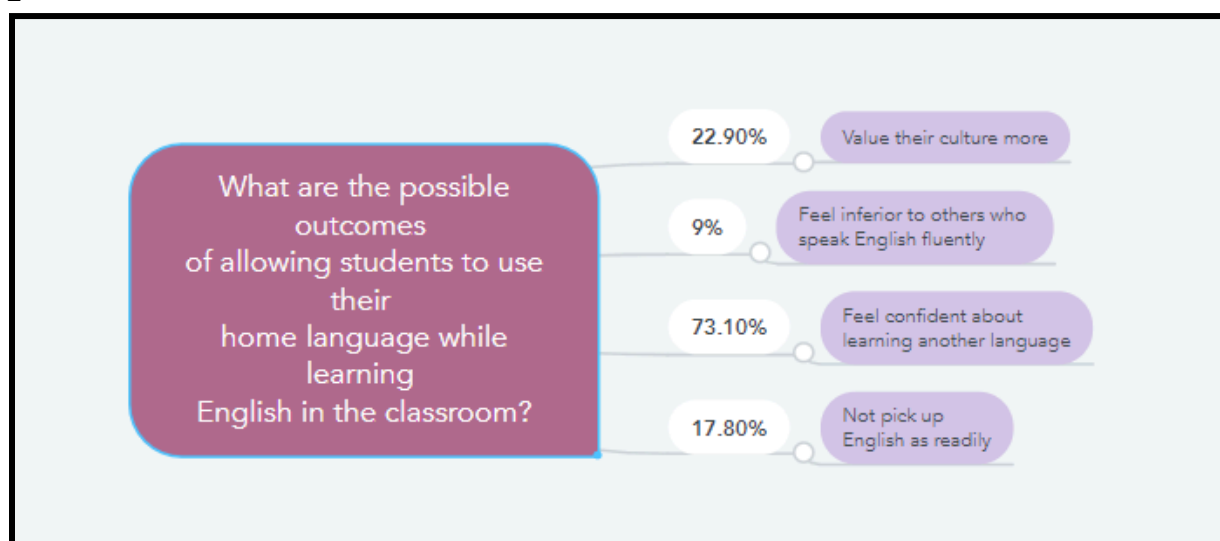
From the survey by Macmillan Education, the teachers' understanding of multilingualism has varied answers which is reflected in figure 1.

Figure 1

Note: The above figure is created using MindMeister software using the data taken from the Macmillan report.

The figure above implies that the teachers who participated in the survey do not have a proper/ clear understanding of multilingualism. Almost 57.2% of the participants considered multilingualism as encouraging the use of multiple languages in the classroom, 10% of them opted that it means using their home language in the classroom, and 27.4% of them chose multilingualism as including regional languages along with English in the curriculum. Their perspective towards multilingualism is completely different. But these heterogeneous views do provide lots of insights to ramify the implementation of multilingualism in the classroom.

4.1. Use of learner's home language in English as Second Language classes

There were mixed attitudes towards the use of the learner's home language in English as Second language classes. Despite the positive outcomes of the use of home language, some teachers put forward the disadvantages of using a learner's home language in ESL classes. For example, some teachers believed that using their home language will not make them pick English as readily and might make them feel inferior to other English-speaking learners. The data from the survey is given below in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Note: The above figure is created using MindMeister software using the data taken from the Macmillan report.

As Figure 2 depicts, among the participants, 22.90% of the teachers considered learners to value their culture more when using L1. 9% of the teachers felt, using their home language will make them inferior to other students and 73.10% of the teachers opted that the learners feel confident about learning another language. Besides, 17.80% of teachers thought that the learners may not be able to pick up English as readily if use the home language in an ESL classroom. Besides, some of the teachers surprisingly the different stances from the majority of the teachers' perspective. The excerpts from the survey have been given below:

Excerpt 1

Students feel more comfortable and understand the cultural diversity while also respecting it but the use of other languages in an English classroom could also hamper their efforts to learn it or readily accept it."

Excerpt 2

"They become confident to speak up without hesitation. However, the use of too many languages should be avoided."

Excerpt 3

"I am not sure if I am woke enough for this! I am an old school teacher and prefer that the English class sounds like an English class. Occasional explanation in the vernacular wouldn't harm, but it's not a practice I celebrate."

Excerpt 4

"The use of the language spoken at home does simplify concepts (specifically, difficult terms), but that is only because English isn't used as frequently as it should be. Teachers 'choose' Hindi because it is more convenient. If they choose English instead, learners would get used to that just as well, even though it might take a little longer and come with a little more patience."

The excerpt and data aforementioned provide an insight that 'not all the teachers embrace multilingualism'. Some teachers are still reluctant to adopt multilingualism due to various reasons and constraints. The reasons for the reluctance are discussed in the next section.

5. What can be done?

5.1. Ramification of Multilingualism in Indian Classroom

Implementing multilingualism in Indian classrooms can have several ramifications, challenges, and steps.

- By accommodating the language diversity of pupils and enabling full participation in the learning process, multilingualism fosters inclusive education (Garcia, 2009).
- It aids in addressing the educational exclusion of learners from linguistic minorities (Mohanty, 2006).
- Improvements in problem-solving abilities, metalinguistic awareness, and language competency are just a few of the cognitive and linguistic benefits that multilingual education can provide for students (Baker, 2011).
- It promotes understanding between various populations and aids in the development of intercultural competency (Baker, 2011).
- The rich cultural history connected to many languages and dialects is preserved and promoted by the inclusion of multilingualism in Indian classrooms.

- It promotes a strong feeling of identity by recognizing and appreciating kids' mother tongues (Mohanty, 2006).
- To increase social relations and social cohesion among students from various linguistic origins, multilingualism is encouraged (UNESCO, 2013).
- It promotes intercultural understanding and eliminates linguistic barriers in communities and classrooms (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014).

5.2. Challenges in implementing multilingualism in Indian Classrooms

Language-in-Education Policy

- To acknowledge and take into account the linguistic diversity of students, language-in-education regulations must be reviewed in order to implement multilingualism. Changes in policy that favour bilingual education and the promotion of regional languages may result from it.

Pedagogical Approaches

- Adopting instructional strategies that recognize students' linguistic capabilities and encourage translanguaging practices is necessary for multilingualism (Garcia & Wei, 2014). In order to improve learning and comprehension, it involves using the students' native tongues in teaching methodologies.

Education and Professional Development for Teachers

- In order to implement multilingualism, teacher training, and professional development programs must be made available, giving educators the tools they need to instruct in multilingual classrooms (UNESCO, 2013). It entails raising teachers' linguistic awareness and developing their capacity to instruct learners from a variety of linguistic backgrounds (Garcia & Menken, 2010).

Societal Perception and Attitudes

- Implementing multilingualism can result in changes in how society views and feels about linguistic diversity, fostering an appreciation and respect for many languages (Garcia, 2009). It might undermine linguistic hierarchy and promote a linguistic environment that is more inclusive and equitable (Mohanty, 2006).

5.3. Steps involved in implementing Multilingualsim

The following general phases can be framed, while the precise approach may differ depending on geographical conditions and educational policies:

Development of Language-in-Education Policies

- Create new language-in-education policies or update existing ones to acknowledge and promote multilingualism in educational contexts. Make sure that policies honor the region's linguistic variety and emphasize the importance of all languages.

Development of Curriculum and Materials

- Create frameworks for multilingual curricula that incorporate a variety of languages into the teaching and learning process. Create or modify educational resources and materials that take into account the linguistic diversity of the students.

Education and Professional Development for Teachers

- Provide instructors with thorough training and professional development opportunities so they may learn the techniques and approaches necessary to teach in multilingual classrooms. Focus on inclusive pedagogies, translanguaging, and language awareness.

Assessment and Evaluation

- ❖ Create assessment systems that take pupils' multilingual proficiency into account.
- ❖ Create assessment instruments that accurately measure pupils' language growth while taking into account their different linguistic origins.

Community Engagement and Parental Involvement

- ❖ Encourage community involvement and parent participation in the implementation of multilingualism.
- ❖ Inform parents of the advantages of bilingual education and solicit their assistance in preserving the mother language competency of the kids.

Resource Allocation

- ❖ Allocate funds and resources to guarantee that students have access to top-notch instructional materials, cutting-edge technology, and multilingual support services.
- ❖ Distribute resources with a higher priority to areas and populations with a greater variety of languages, especially minority languages.

Monitoring and Evaluation

- ❖ Monitor and evaluate multilingualism implementation on a regular basis to determine its success and pinpoint opportunities for development.
- ❖ Gather information on student performance, linguistic ability, and how multilingual teaching methods affect learning results.

5.4. Future possibilities

The future possibilities for implementing multilingualism in Indian classrooms are vast and hold great potential for educational development. Some anticipated future possibilities are:

Expanded Language Offerings

- ❖ Increasing the range of languages offered in schools, including regional languages and indigenous languages, to cater to the linguistic diversity of students.
- ❖ Providing opportunities for students to learn additional languages beyond their mother tongue.

Technological Integration

- ❖ Leveraging technology to facilitate multilingual learning through interactive digital resources, language learning apps, and online language platforms.
- ❖ Exploring possibilities for virtual language exchange programs and online collaboration with students from different linguistic backgrounds.

Translanguaging Pedagogies

- ❖ Promoting translanguaging pedagogies that encourage students to use their full linguistic repertoire to enhance learning.
- ❖ Integrating multilingual practices into classroom activities, such as group discussions, project work, and collaborative learning.

Inclusive Assessment Practices

- ❖ Developing assessment methods that recognize and assess students' proficiency in multiple languages.
- ❖ Exploring innovative assessment approaches that capture the diverse language skills and cultural knowledge of students.

Multilingual Teacher Education

- ❖ Enhancing pre-service and in-service teacher education programs to equip teachers with the knowledge and skills to teach in multilingual classrooms.

- ❖ Incorporating multilingual teaching strategies, language awareness, and cultural sensitivity into teacher training programs.

Collaborative Partnerships

- ❖ Encouraging collaboration among educational institutions, linguistic experts, and community organizations to support multilingual education initiatives.
- ❖ Partnering with parents, local communities, and language speakers to create a supportive language learning environment.

Research and Policy Advocacy

- ❖ Researching to generate evidence on the benefits and effectiveness of multilingual education in Indian classrooms.
- ❖ Advocating for supportive language policies at national, state, and local levels, based on research findings and best practices.

6. Conclusion

The acceptance and efficacy of this instructional technique can be substantially impacted by instructors' attitudes towards multilingualism. Some educators might be concerned about upholding order in the classroom, handling linguistic variety, or viewing multilingualism as a threat to the dominance of the dominant language. Additionally, a lack of opportunity for professional development in this field or limited exposure to multilingual education throughout their training could be factors in their hesitations.

The goal of this synthesis study is to enable an understanding of the obstacles and reluctances to multilingualism while acknowledging the diversity of points of view. Doing this, adds to a thorough discussion on multilingual education and identifies the areas that require more assistance, instruction, and awareness-raising campaigns in order to encourage openness and acceptance. We may work towards creating solutions that harness the potential of several languages for enhancing educational experiences and encouraging the academic achievement and cultural inclusion of all students by comprehending and addressing the worries of teachers and stakeholders.

Key actions include creating inclusive language policies, supporting teachers' professional growth, and encouraging stakeholder engagement. Teachers can advance translanguaging pedagogies and develop stimulating learning environments by valuing and incorporating students' varied language repertoires.

While additional research is required to determine whether multilingual practices are beneficial in Indian classrooms, the prospects for the future seem encouraging. The opportunity to improve multilingual education further lies in expanded language offers, technological integration, and inclusive evaluation methods. Promoting cooperative alliances and supporting language laws can lead to constructive change.

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Conceptual Exploration: Unlocking ESL Learners' Speaking Potential by Integrating a Reward System as a COMPONENT into LESSON PLANNING

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A B S T R A C T
The main focus of the paper is on including a reward system as a component in lesson planning to help ESL learners develop their speaking abilities. This paper aims to improve learners' speaking abilities by motivating and engaging them within the context of a particular lesson. The usefulness of incorporating a reward system is examined in the study, along with some useful advice for its implementation. The literature study demonstrates the various ways that reward systems affect motivation and performance in educational contexts. Notably, no prior research has particularly investigated the inclusion of a reward system as a COMPONENT in lesson plan to maximise the speaking abilities of ESL learners. Therefore, adding a rewards system to lesson planning is an innovative strategy in this situation. The study underlines the value of setting clear goals, choosing suitable rewards, keeping track of progress, and giving feedback. Teachers can create a stimulating and engaging learning environment that strives to boost students' confidence in speaking English and reinforce desired behaviour by introducing a reward system into lesson planning. The main idea emphasises how the reward system not only encourages students but also enables teachers to track and evaluate the accomplishment of specific objectives within a given class and a particular lesson. The article ends by highlighting the need for additional study to examine how generalizable this approach is in various ESL learning environments.

1. Introduction

In the past, not all frameworks for lesson planning have expressly included a reward system as a component. Traditional lesson planning primarily focuses on learning objectives, content delivery, activities, and evaluation strategies. However, individual teachers or educational institutions may decide to use a reward system as a matter of pedagogy in order to raise student interest and involvement in the learning process. Reward systems can be a useful tool for teaching ESL students to speak the language more fluently. Reward systems can offer learners constructive criticism and motivation, assisting in involving them in speaking activities and enticing them to practise and advance their speaking ability. According to research, reward systems can positively affect ESL students' motivation and engagement, which will boost their

participation and improve their performance. Teachers can instil a sense of achievement and encourage students to take speaking risks by including rewards in the planning of lessons. Over time, this can lead to considerable improvements in students' speaking abilities.

2. Literature Review

In 2021, Researchers named Siti Nurafiqah binti Abdullah and Maria Shu Hong Bee Abdullah of Sultan Idris Education University in Malaysia carried out a study titled "Using Reward Cards to Motivate Students' Learning in an ESL Form 2 Classroom in Perak." in Turkish journal of computer and mathematics education, The purpose of this study was to determine whether introducing reward cards in an ESL classroom can increase students' motivation to learning. Over the course of five weeks, the action research was carried out with 18 Form 2 students from a Perak semi-urban school. The researcher implemented a reward card technique in the classroom and gathered information via questionnaires, interviews, and reward cards. The data were analysed by calculating the percentage of students' ratings on each questionnaire item and reward card, as well as through the analysis of audio recordings from students' interviews. The findings revealed that the use of reward cards motivated students to actively participate in the classroom and encouraged them to compete with their peers in collecting stamps as tokens. The research demonstrates that the implementation of reward cards effectively improved students' motivation during English language lessons. This article is relevant to the current study as It offers valuable insights into how integrating a reward system can create a positive and engaging environment, encouraging students to actively participate and develop their speaking skills during English language lessons. The findings support the effectiveness of using rewards to unlock ESL learners' speaking potential in lesson planning.

In 2021 researchers named Javed and Muhammad did a study titled "Teachers' Perceptions about Reward Systems in Classroom" which was published in the Journal of Education and Social Studies. The present study aimed to investigate teacher perceptions about rewards in the classroom. It included all the teachers from the public primary schools in district Toba Tek Singh as the population. A questionnaire with a five-point rating scale was used to collect the opinions of the respondents. From 100 public primary schools, a sample of 200 teachers (100 male and 100 female) was selected. Data analysis was conducted using SPSS, employing t-test, mean, and standard deviation. The findings revealed that a majority of the teachers agreed that rewards positively influence students, encouraging them to make progress. Moreover, the rewards system was found to significantly contribute to learner achievement. Additionally, the study confirmed that many teachers improved their performance in implementing rewards, leading to a positive impact on achieving the targeted objectives. The findings from the article support the potential benefits of incorporating a reward system to enhance ESL learners' speaking skills, making it valuable for the current study's approach.

In 2009, researchers T.F. McLaughlin, Kimberly P. Weber and Maighain Arkoosh conducted a study titled "The Effects of Motivational/Reward System and a Spelling Racetrack on Spelling Performance in General Education: A Case Report." conducted at Gonzaga University in Spokane, USA by the Department of Special Education, was published in the open education journal. The article aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of a spelling racetrack in improving spelling performance for a 7-year-old student with low spelling abilities in a large urban school

in eastern Washington. The research employed an ABAB single case replication design, where the participant's spelling tests were assessed daily, focusing on the number of correct and error words. The spelling racetrack was introduced as part of an ongoing motivational system in the classroom. The findings consistently showed that the implementation of the spelling racetrack significantly increased the number of correct words spelled while reducing errors each time it was in effect. The modified racetrack procedure proved to be both effective and motivating, leading to notable improvements in spelling performance. The study's relevance to the current context lies in its demonstration of the positive impact of a reward system on student performance, which can be applied in ESL lesson planning to foster learners' speaking potential.

In 2006, authors Patricia Olszewski, John O. Dunn, Ernest W. Brewer published a paper titled "Extrinsic Reward and Intrinsic Motivation: The Vital Link between Classroom Management and Student Performance" in the Journal of Classroom Interaction. The article aims to explore the connection between intrinsic motivation, student achievement and extrinsic motivation. It conducts a comprehensive analysis of the long term and short term impacts of extrinsic rewards on learners motivation and performance by synthesising existing research. Additionally, the article highlights the importance of understanding the contextual aspects of extrinsic rewards, including potential negative consequences and crucial motivating factors. The primary purpose of the paper is to assist teacher educators in identifying and avoiding the drawbacks of poorly designed reward systems. By gaining insights into the dynamics of extrinsic rewards, educators can devise effective classroom management strategies that foster both immediate performance and sustained intrinsic motivation among students. The article is relevant to the current study as it explores the connection between extrinsic rewards, student motivation, and performance. By understanding the impact of extrinsic rewards on intrinsic motivation, educators can incorporate well-designed reward systems in the ESL lesson plans, motivating primary rural ESL learners to actively participate and improve their speaking skills. Additionally, considering potential negative consequences, educators can create reward systems that foster sustained intrinsic motivation for long-term language learning interest among students.

In 2001, LM Wilson and DA Corpus conducted a study titled "The Effects of Reward Systems on Academic Performance," which was published in the Middle School Journal by Taylor & Francis. The aim of the article was to explore the different philosophical debates surrounding intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in motivating middle-level students to achieve academically. The study delved into the use of reward systems in classrooms and examined the limitations and ineffectiveness of behaviourist models in promoting academic achievement. It focused on understanding how rewards and punishments impact students' academic performance. The article highlighted the connection between rewards, motivation, and academic success, while also acknowledging potential negative effects. It emphasised the advantages of well-designed reward systems, including increased motivation and improved academic outcomes. Furthermore, the paper offered valuable insights and guidance for educators and researchers on setting up rewarding systems to enhance motivation and foster successful academic results. The article's insights are relevant to the current study on creating lesson plans for developing speaking skills in the primary rural ESL classroom. By understanding how rewards can influence motivation and academic success, educators can incorporate well-designed reward systems into the lesson plans to enhance students' speaking engagement and skill development in the ESL classroom.

After evaluating the available literature on the effects of rewards systems on academic achievement, it is clear that incorporating a reward system as a component into lesson preparation is a good approach. Although the precise title may not have been mentioned in the literature review, the results of the research given support the idea that well-designed reward systems can have a favourable impact on students' motivation and subsequent academic success. Teachers can create a dynamic and interactive learning environment that motivates and engages students in improving their speaking skills by implementing a well-designed reward system as a component into lesson planning.

Additionally, including a reward system in planning lessons improves student motivation and enables efficient tracking of course development and student accomplishments. Teachers can give students real incentives to actively participate in speaking activities and work towards improvement by defining clear goals and praising students' progress and achievements in their speaking skills. However, it is crucial for educators to keep in mind the proper ratio of internal drive to extrinsic rewards. The literature review has cautioned against the possible drawbacks of relying only on extrinsic rewards, as doing so could eventually lead to a decline in intrinsic motivation. It is essential to create reward systems that encourage students' internal motivation to enhance their speaking abilities as well as outward recognition.

Teachers should consider the following when incorporating a reward system into lesson planning:

1. Setting clear objectives: The objectives of the lesson should be clearly stated and communicated to students. Clear objectives provide a roadmap for the learners which will help them understand what is expected of them and what they must accomplish in order to get rewards.
2. Identify appropriate rewards: Rewards should be decided based on the learners' individual needs and interests. Rewards might be tangible (such as stickers and awards) or intangible (such as praise and positive comments), but they must be meaningful and relevant to the learners.
3. Setting explicit reward criteria: Teachers should clearly define the criteria for rewards, such as participation in speaking activities or reaching specific speaking objectives. These could include fluency, a wide vocabulary, accurate pronunciation, and the capacity to explain ideas logically, among other speaking skills. This can help to make sure that awards are won via effort and success rather than by merely attending class.
4. Monitor progress: Progress should be monitored, and teachers should give regular feedback to help students become more effective communicators. Teachers can find out where their pupils excel and where they need extra help by regularly tracking their development. This approach entails assessing elements including pronunciation precision, vocabulary utilisation, fluency, and the capacity to effectively communicate ideas. This may help pupils stay engaged and motivated throughout the lesson.
5. Evaluation of the reward system's efficacy: It is essential for the educators to evaluate the effectiveness of the reward system by keeping track of the learners' progress, attitudes towards the tasks, and levels of motivation. In order to better understand how the rewards system is serving the needs of the learners and make the

required adjustments, feedback from them can also be gathered. This strategy aids in maximising Specific benefits of adding a reward system in lesson planning and ensuring the accomplishment of its intended objectives.

Specific benefits of adding a reward system in lesson planning:

1. Engagement and Motivation: A rewards system gives ESL students another reason to be engaged and motivated. Students are encouraged to actively participate and take part in speaking activities by adding rewards into lesson design. The learner's curiosity may be piqued by the possibility of receiving a reward, which will make the target lesson's learning process more engaging and fun.
2. Setting goals and monitoring progress: The reward system allows for clear goal setting and monitoring progress. Learners have a concrete goal to work towards when establishing specific language objectives and associated rewards, learners have a tangible target to work towards. This helps them monitor their progress, celebrate achievements, and see the direct correlation between effort and rewards, fostering a sense of accomplishment.
3. Increased Confidence: The use of a reward system in lesson planning can increase students' confidence in speaking English. students become more willing to take risks, participate in class discussions, and express their ideas in English without fear of making mistakes. As they receive recognition and positive reinforcement for their efforts, This increased confidence contributes to their overall language speaking development.
4. Sustained Interest and Focus: Incorporating rewards into lesson design aids in maintaining students' attention and concentration throughout the learning process. Students are more likely to actively listen, participate, and contribute during speaking exercises when rewards are offered. This constant interest promotes a positive atmosphere for learning and improves the overall learning experience
5. Reinforcement of Desirable Behaviour: A reward system reinforces desirable behaviour and motivates ESL students to regularly work on their speaking abilities. When students are rewarded for participating actively in the target lesson they are more likely to repeat these behaviours, which causes their speaking skills to gradually develop.
6. Fun and Enjoyment: Implementing a reward system in lesson design makes the learning environment more enjoyable and exciting. Learners are more motivated to join and engage in speaking activities making language learning interactive and entertaining. This positive environment can encourage a love of language learning and have a long-lasting effect on students' speaking skill development.

Finding a balance between inner and extrinsic motivation is essential when adopting a reward system as a part of lesson design. It is crucial that rewards are viewed as instruments for improving learners' speaking abilities and fostering intrinsic motivation. It is more important to prioritise high intrinsic motivation over high extrinsic drive. The benefits should be viewed as a way to boost students' communication abilities and promote intrinsic motivation. The incentive system could be seen as a way to improve learners' speaking abilities and motivate learners to learn the language more fluently rather than concentrating exclusively on external benefits.

3. Limitations

1. Potential Overemphasis on External rewards: Relying only on external rewards may accidentally reduce internal motivation for developing speaking skills. If learners become overly focused on gaining rewards, their focus may shift away from the intrinsic enjoyment of speaking and the desire to develop their skills and towards just obtaining the monetary rewards. It is crucial to achieve a balance between using rewards to boost intrinsic motivation and encouraging learners to actively participate in speaking activities for skill development.

2. Individual differences in response to rewards: This refers to how different learners may respond to the use of external rewards to enhance the learners speaking abilities. Some learners may be driven by intrinsic factors like a desire for better communication or personal improvement, while other learners may be motivated by external circumstances. Therefore teachers must have a thorough understanding of individual differences in response to rewards, when creating a reward system that successfully stimulates and promotes the development of speaking abilities for all learners, taking into consideration their specific preferences and motivations.

3. Potential Equity Issues: When implementing a reward system for improving speaking abilities, equity issues should be taken into account. Others may be driven solely by their own desire for development, while some learners may respond more favourably to rewards from outside sources. Teachers should make sure that the reward structure does not produce inequities or disadvantages to certain learners, but rather encourages a welcoming learning atmosphere where everyone has an equal chance to improve their speaking abilities.

4. Generalisation to different contexts: This paper focuses specifically on incorporating a reward system into lesson planning to enhance the speaking skills of ESL learners. The applicability and the effectiveness of Reward systems may not be applicable or successful in certain situations due to differences in age groups, competence levels, or cultural backgrounds. This study's findings might not adequately represent the dynamics of reward systems in other learning settings or across different learner groups, necessitating further investigation for broader generalisation.

5. Potential Focus Shift: By introducing a reward system, it's possible to unintentionally change the learning process from honing speaking skills to purely pursuing rewards. Instead of concentrating on actually improving their speaking skills, learners could start to worry more about getting rewards. Teachers must constantly stress the value of good speaking skills for effective communication and personal development in order to counteract this and ensure that students continue to show a sincere interest in enhancing their speaking skills.

6. Limited Long-Term Effect: A reward system can immediately increase motivation and engagement in speaking activities, but its long-term effects on the development

of speaking skill may be limited. The impact of the rewards may decline if learners grow accustomed to rewards over time. In order to maintain long-term motivation and performance, it is important to gradually shift learners from extrinsic rewards to intrinsic motivation, building a genuine enthusiasm for developing their speaking abilities outside of the reward system.

4. Conclusion

Integrating a system of rewards as a component into lesson planning proves to be a tactic for unlocking the speaking capabilities of ESL learners. By establishing goals, selecting rewards, setting criteria, monitoring progress and evaluating effectiveness, teachers can cultivate an environment that motivates and captivates learners. Rewards should be seen as tools that enhance the learning process and inspire the development of speaking skills by striking a balance between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. By implementing a designed reward system teachers can encourage learners to engage in speaking activities, take risks, and steadily enhance their speaking abilities. However it's important to acknowledge that the decision to incorporate a reward system into lesson planning may vary depending on context, student age groups and teaching philosophies. While some teachers find reward systems in motivating students others may prefer approaches that emphasise intrinsic motivation or other strategies for student engagement. Ultimately the inclusion of a reward system in lesson planning is a choice that can be customised to meet the needs and dynamics of each classroom. A thoughtful and balanced approach to rewards fosters an enjoyable learning environment where ESL learners thrive and unlock their potential in speaking skills.

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Shakespeare's Language-game

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A B S T R A C T
Shakespeare Studies have explored Shakespeare's use of language, for example, his contribution to the English language, his use of medical, legal, and military terms, grammar, handling of imagery, knowledge of rhetoric, use of bawdy, etc., but little has, so far, been said of his understanding of language. Though the playwright's understanding of language and its role in human life could be grasped by reading some of his plays like *Hamlet, Othello, King Lear* and *Macbeth* in which the protagonists come to terms with their understanding of human speech acts, the present paper uses the ideas of ordinary language philosophy—giving more importance to speech-act theory—to substantiate Shakespeare's reflection about language by focusing on two scenes, one from *Hamlet* and one from *Macbeth*, where Polonius and Malcolm perform covert speech acts to achieve their intended effect over the hearers; the scenes are not usually taken seriously for discussion, as they do not explicitly constitute the main plot of the play. The playwright's making of language-specific situations makes us realise his profound understanding of *words* in the *world* facilitating him to play *language-games*. Thus, the present paper focuses not on Shakespeare's use of language but on his understanding of language.

1. Introduction

Language, a *form of life*[1], is a much-reflected phenomenon since Plato[2]. Since then philosophers have been trying to understand how words relate to reality, the relationship between meaning and intention, how language constructs social reality, the role of language in human life, etc. Though studies focus on language, a complex human phenomenon, in general, it takes a very distinct position when it comes to literary analysis, as it is the fundamental element that constitutes literature. Moreover, it is a most amusing aspect for an academician who indulges in studying Shakespeare.

[1] Ludwig Wittgenstein, an Austrian philosopher, used the term "form of life" (see pp 11) in his work *Philosophical Investigation* (1958) to describe language. Though, in the beginning, Wittgenstein's approach to language contribute to formalist strand of philosophy of language, his later work *Philosophical Investigation* focuses on the use of language.
[2] Plato's *Cratylus* deals with language.

2. Shakespeare's View of Language

Although much has been written about Shakespeare's use of language, his handling of imagery, use of puns, use of bawdy, knowledge of rhetoric, etc., little has, so far, been said about his attitude to language. The present paper attempts to focus on Shakespeare's understanding of language because it is apparent that "in the celebration of Shakespeare's linguistic artistic triumph what has generally been overlooked is his deeper insights about the role language plays in human affairs" (Gundur, 2016). Though Shakespeare's attitude to language could be explored by reading all four great tragedies, *Macbeth, Othello, Hamlet* and *King Lear*, as the protagonists in these plays come to terms with their understanding of human speech acts, this paper attempts to substantiate Shakespeare's understanding of language as a hum*an intentional activity* by giving attention to some specific instances from his plays, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth,* where the playwright's *language-game*[3] takes much prominence.

3. Speech-act Theory as Framework

In the work, *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), J L Austin, a leading proponent of ordinary language philosophy, presents a very significant idea about human speech, bringing a shift in the study of language in the West. According to Austin *by saying* something we are *doing* something; all utterances are performances of speech acts. Austin's speech-act theory expounds how utterances as speech act function at three levels simultaneously: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act, and a perlocutionary act. The 'Locutionary Act' involves sentence-level linguistic meaning; the 'Illocutionary Act' is the act that a speaker performs through her utterance, like promising, asserting, requesting, warning, expressing, etc.; and the 'Perlocutionary Act' is the effect created by the utterance on the mind of the receiver.

All our utterances are speech acts; performing speech acts is not concerned with learning a language's lexis and syntactic structures but rather knowing how to use and receive words. When we are making an utterance, we are performing an action—for Austin it is *doing* something *by saying* something. As *words*[4] constitute our human world and create reality, we should know how to engage with *them*. The performing of speech act is not merely the ability to understand how to make utterances, rather it also involves how we judge and receive words. We create reality and bring certain things to existence through our speech acts. Thus, as Searle says, "We are speech act performing beings." Let us try to understand Shakespeare's view of language with the help of this framework.

4. Shakespeare's Language-game

Though Shakespeare, the playwright's entire business goes with linguistic transactions—the use of language—we could observe his profound understanding of the way words work in the world by reading his plays from a different perspective. If this idea is looked at with a critical notion that as a playwright Shakespeare would be knowing about language and there is no point in

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[3] Ludwig Wittgenstein used the term *language-game* (see pp 5) in *Philosophical Investigations* (1958). He calls "the whole, consisting of language and the actions into which it is woven, the "language-game"" and he uses the term with a hyphen.

[4] In this study we do not make any distinction between language and words, thus, use them interchangeably

substantiating it distinctly, then there is a need to differentiate between use and understanding—using something just requires skills whereas, understanding comes from knowledge. Like philosophers of ordinary language philosophy, Shakespeare also reflected on words and the acts we perform through them. Let us discuss this by taking some specific scenes from the plays, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*.

In the first scene of the second act of *Hamlet*, Polonius, the father of Laertes, preparing his servant Reynaldo to hand over some money and notes to his son, who stays away in Paris for his studies, asks him to inquire about Laertes' behaviour. Usually, the act of inquiry is done with questions. But, here, Polonius' tutoring Reynaldo on how to perform the act of speech by asserting certain things about his son is a scheme to bring out the truth by anticipating the effect that words would create on the hearer. He believes that the act Reynaldo is assigned to perform through his speech would create a reality for the hearer and would bring out the intended effect. Though it appears that Reynaldo is being trained to *say* something, he is being prepared to *do* something through words. I would like to quote the dialogues of Polonius to **show** Shakespeare's understanding of language through his art.

Pol. …That they do know my son, come you more nearer
Than your particular demands will touch it:
Take you, as 'twere, some distant knowledge of him;
As thus, "I know his father and his friends,
And in part him." Do you mark this, Reynaldo? (*Hamlet*, 2.1, 11-15)
Pol. "And in part of him, but," you may say, "not well;
But if't be he I mean, he's very wild,
Addicted so and so," and there put on him
What forgeries you please—marry, none so rank
As may dishonour him, take heed of that—
But, sir, such wanton, wild, and usual slips
As are companions noted and most known
To youth and liberty.
Rey. As gaming, my lord?
Pol. Ay, or drinking, fencing, swearing,
Quarreling, drabbing—you may go so far
Rey. My lord, that would dishonour him. (17 - 27)
Pol. … But breathe his faults so quaintly
That they may seem the taints of liberty,
The flash and outbreak of a fiery mind,
A savageness in unreclaimed blood
Of general assault. (31 -34)
Pol. At "closes in the consequence"—ay, marry.
He closes thus: "I know the gentleman,
I saw him yesterday"—or "th'other day,"
Or then, or then, with such or such—"and as you say,
There was 'gaming, there o'ertook in 's rouse,
There falling out at tennis," or perchance
"I saw him enter such a house of sale,"
*Videlice*t, a brothel, or so forth. See you now,

Your bait of falsehood take this carp of truth,
And thus do we of wisdom and of reach
With windlasses and with assays of bias
By indirections find directions out. (52 – 63)

The words of Polonius make us realise how things are created through words; how they can bring something to existence; how they influence human perception; and how utterances perform different activities according to the context in which they are used. Though the utterances vary in their propositional content, there is a single intention behind the utterances that remains hidden in achieving the effect—what speech act theorists call the perlocutionary act. Thus, Polonius' design of the *language-game* is an outcome of Shakespeare's reflection on words. Moreover, a similar instance is found in the play, *Macbeth*. The speech act of Malcolm in *Macbeth* also adds to the present argument.

When Macbeth who "is too full o'th' milk of human kindness" (1.5.15) transforms into a tyrant, Macduff approaches Malcolm with a request to end the sufferings of Scotland and relieve the people from the tyranny of Macbeth. In this context, it is a very similar kind of speech act, as it is planned by Polonius to find Laertes' behaviour, a *language-game,* being played by Malcolm to test the loyalty and sincerity of Macduff.

Mal. … When I shall tread upon the tyrant's head
Or wear it on my sword, yet my poor country
Shall have more vices than it had before,
More suffer and more sundry ways than ever,
By him that shall succeed.
Mac. What should he be?
Mal. It is myself I mean, in whom I know
All particulars of vice so grafted
That, when they shall be opened, black Macbeth
Will seem as pure as snow, and the poor state
Esteem him as a lamb, being compared
With my confineless harms (*Macbeth*, 4.3, 45 – 49)
Mac. …
Mal. I grant him bloody,
Luxurious, avaricious, false, deceitful,
Sudden, malicious, smacking of every sin
That has a name. But there's no bottom, none,
In my voluptuousness: your wives, your daughters,
Your matrons, and your maids could not fill up
The cistern of my lust, and my desire
All continent impediments would o'erbear
That did oppose my will. Better Macbeth
Than such an one to reign. (57- 66)

Malcolm's assertions do not confine only to licentiousness but proceed further to cover all the vices like cruelty, avarice, inhumanity and admit his lack of qualities like justice, verity,

temperance, bounty, perseverance, mercy, patience and courage necessary to become a king. Though the utterances appear to be assertions, they are intended acts of speech performed to check the response they would fetch from the hearer, and the illocutionary force functions implicitly. Moreover, Macduff's response after listening to these assertions, "Fit to govern? / No not to live." affirms how we go by words. Thus, in both instances, though the utterances appear as assertions, they are not just used to describe the persons to whom they are attributed, as it happens in a regular case, rather their use in the contexts is implicit in nature.

5. Conclusion

Hence, the speech acts of Polonius and Malcolm are evident to grasp Shakespeare's understanding of words as forces making us think and see things in a particular way, creating realities and moulding our beliefs. The discussed instances confirm his reflection on how we, humans, go by *words* and get convinced by them, and in most cases, judge people and things by words. These *language-games* come into play not because of Shakespeare's skill to use language, but rather his understanding of language as a whole constituted of linguistic meaning, speaker meaning and intention, the forces of the utterances, and their effects. In "Shakespeare and the Limits of Language",(1971) Anne Barton attempts, by studying certain situations and dialogues in the plays like *Richard II, Henry IV, King Lear,* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, to substantiate the point that Shakespeare confronted the limits of language. Though we cannot completely reject Barton's argument, the predominant idea we would like to emphasize, here, is that the playwright was aware of the efficacy of words, conscious of the multiplicity of their function and ever-widening circles of meaning, and had a deeper understanding of the way *words* work in the world.

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Some aspects of Kokborok adverbs

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A B S T R A C T

This paper investigates the different semantic types of adverbs and the kinds of constituents that they modify in Kokborok (Tripuri). Kokborok is a Bodo-Garo language spoken mainly in the North Eastern State of Tripura. The study shows that some Kokborok adverbs modify the verb or VP while others modify the entire sentence or proposition. None of the different types of adverbs can occur in the post-verbal position. Since the function of an adverb is to modify a verb, it may not occur without a verb in a sentence, whereas a true verb may occur without any other verb.

1. Introduction

Kokborok is a Bodo-Garo language of Tibeto-Burman language family spoken primarily in the North Eastern state of Tripura with a total population of 13, 00000 approximately. Kokborok is extensively used by majority of the tribes of Tripura. Kokborok is also spoken by around 2 lakh population in present day Bangladesh (Prabhangshu Tripura 2001:8).

Kokborok is spoken mainly in Tripura and in some parts of Assam and Mizoram. It is also spoken in neighbouring country of present day Bangladesh. In Tripura it is spoken in all the eight Districts (West Tripura, North Tripura, Dhalai, South, Unakoti, Sipahijala, Khowai, Gomati). In Bangladesh Kokborok is spoken in Khagrachari, Rangamati (Riang), Bandarban district, Sylhet division and Rajbari area (Dhaka; 300 Tripura).

Kokborok is known by different names, such as, *Mrung* (Phayre: 1841), *Tipperah* (Sutherland; 1860, Lewin; 1869, Campbell; 1874), *Hill Tipperah* (Hunter; 1876), *Hill Tippera* (Endle; 1884, Anderson; 1885), *Kokborma* (Ahmmed; 1997-98), *Traipur* (Thakur; 1900), *Tipura* (Grierson; 1903-28, Shafer; 1966), *Tripuri* (Karapurkar; 1972), *Kokborok* (Karapurkar; 1976).

Kokborok is closely related to other Bodo-Garo languages like Dimasa, Bodo, Garo, Rabha, Tiwa, Sonowal Kachari etc. spoken in Nagaland, Assam and Meghalaya. Burling (2003) has classified Kokborok under Bodo-Konyak-Jinghpaw group of Tibeto-Burman languages. Grierson (1903-28) classified Kokborok (Tipura) under Bodo-Garo.

According to Debbarma (2003) Kokborok dialect can be classified into eight distinct dialects: Bru, Debbarma (Tripuri), Jamatia, Koloi, Murasing, Rupini, Tripura, and Uchoi. Recently Noatia has also been in the list. So far no study related to classification of dialects has been carried out.

2. Existing work on adverbs

In a few descriptive grammars, an adverb has got only introductory remarks; there is very little study on the adverbs. According to Karapurkar (1976) there are two types of adverbs: primary and derived. In primary adverbs she discussed such as *dakti phaydi* 'Come quickly'. The second type is formed from adjectives by suffixing -*khay* to the adjectival base such as *sriŋ-sriŋ-khay suidi* 'write quietly'. Debbarma (2014) have classified adverb into simple, derived, compound and reduplicated adverbs.

3. Adverbs

As a lexical category, adverbs appear to have not received much attention in the study of North East Indian languages. The term 'adverb' may refer to different ranges of words in different languages. There is 'adverb' word class in Kokborok. Prototypically, adverbs modify verbs. Adverbs form a smallest open word class in Kokborok. Basic or proper adverbs form a small class. Most adverbs are derived from various sources such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and even other adverbs. They have been given other Kokborok name such as *khwlai goron* which means 'verb quality', literally verb modifier. Adverbs in Kokborok modify the verbs, adjectives, other adverbs. They may modify the entire sentence, describing the extent, range, time, frequency, manner and dimension of the act or state. Some adverbs may function as clause linkers. Adverbs differ from nouns, verbs and adjectives in that they cannot take inflection or inflection on adverbs is extremely rare.

The work of an adjective is to modify a noun. The work of an adverb is to modify anything other than a noun. Morphologically, all adverbs are unmarked, and there are productive means for deriving adverbs from other word classes. Semantically, most adverbs convey information on space, time, frequency, degree and manner.

4. Semantic classification of adverb classes

Adverbs can be classified semantically according to the kind of meaning they add to the verb or sentence. Adverbs can be divided into the following semantic subgroups: manner adverb, temporal adverbs, adverbs of place, adverbs of degree, frequency adverbs and scope adverbs. For ease of presentation, each semantically-related category is discussed in turn.

4.1. Manner Adverb

Manner adverbs occur only before the verb or VP. They never occur after the verb. It is common feature found in Tibeto-Burman languages. Manner adverbs typically describe the way in which an action or an event took place or was executed. They include:

acomsa	'suddenly'
taisa	'again'
taibo	'more'
dakti	'fast'

dorodoro ‘immediately’

siring siring ‘quietly'

ahai ‘like that’

Syntactically, manner adverbs are restricted with respect to their position(s) in sentences. Manner adverbs only occur before the verb or VP (i.e., sentence-medially). Consider the examples in (1) and (2):

(1) *dorodoro phai-di*
immediately come-IMP
‘come immediately!’

(2) *bo dakti thang-kha*
he fast go-PST
‘He went fast’

4.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs provide information about the time of an event or action and they have scope over the ‘entire event-clause, i.e. the whole proposition’ (Givon, 1993:73, 2001:91-92). Adverb of time words in Kokborok can indicate time like present, past and future. They may be single-words like: *tabuk* ‘now’, *tini* ‘today’, *taklai* ‘this year’, *ikhipi* ‘this days’, *hamansa* ‘the year before last’, *miya* ‘yesterday’, *miya soni* ‘the day before yesterday’, *seman* ‘last year’, k^h*ali* ‘next year’, *khɨna* ‘tomorrow’, *khɨna soni* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *thinang* ‘future’, *ulo* ‘later/afterwards’, *tini-khɨna* ‘nowadays’, *ai-sirisiri* ‘early morning’ *acomsa* ‘suddenly’. It must be noted here that almost all the words listed here are basically nouns or NPs that are used as adverbs of time.

The examples in (3) and (4) show the syntactic positions in which time adverbs occur:

(3) *bo tini phai-nai*
he today come-FUT
‘He will come today’

(4) *khali phai-di*
next year come-IMP
‘Come next year!’

Temporal adverbs may refer to both definite and indefinite time as in (5) and (6).

(5) *ang tabuk thang-nai*
I now go-FUT
‘I will go now’

(6) *ang ulo thang-nai*
I later go-FUT
‘I will go later’

4.3 Adverb of place

The locational adverbs in Kokborok are derived by suffixing locational marker *-ro* to the demonstratives *i* 'this' and *u* 'that' respectively. Locative adverbs denote location in terms of proximate distance and far distance.

i-ro	'here'
u-ro	'there'
a-ro	'over there' (space)
boro	'where'
a-phuru	'at that time'
a-yang	'this side'
u-yang	'that side'

The place adverbs function as verbal modifiers of the head verb as in (7) – (9).

(7) *iro* *phai-di*
Prox come-IMP
'come here'

(8) *uro* *thang-di*
I go-IMP
'go there'

(9) *u-yang* *thang-di*
that-side go-IMP
'go that side'

4.4 Adverbs of degree

Kokborok has a few number of degree adverbs, which are non-derived and derived. Degree adverbs usually modify adjectives and some transitive verbs or intransitive verbs. The adverb 'belai' is the most frequently used in Kokborok. Degree adverbs in Kokborok usually precede the verb, adjective or adverb (10) – (15). Some of the degree adverbs are *alaida* 'too', *jobor* 'so much', *kisa* 'a little' *kisasuk* 'a little bit'.

(10) *ri* *belai* *kuphur*
cloth very white
'Very white cloth'

(11) *belai* *kosom* *manui*
very black thing
'very black thing'

(12) *tui* *belai* *kutung*
water very hot
'very hot water'

(13) *bo* *belai* *thu-kha*

he very sleep-PST
'He slept very much today'

(14) *tini belai tung-kha*
today very be.hot-PST
'It's very much hot today'

(15) *sairig-o belai ham-nai*
Evening-LOC very be.good-FUT
'It will be much better in the evening'

One can use the suffix *-khai* with adverb *belai* 'very' to express intensification such as *belai-khai* 'extremely' as in (16) – (19).

(16) *tini belai-khai tung-kha*
today very-ADVLZ hot-PST
'It was very hot today'

(17) *bo belai-khai nung-kha*
he very-ADVLZ drink-PST
'He drank too much/very much'

(18) *aŋ miya belai-khai thu-kha*
I yesterday very-ADVLZ sleep-PST
'I slept so/too much yesterday'

(19) *bo ok-khui-ma bagoi belai-khai ca-kha*
he stomach.be sour-NOMZ because very-ADVLZ eat-PST
'Because of hungy, he ate so much'

To express further intensification the suffix *-khe* is attached the degree adverb *belai* along with the suffix marker *-suk* to verb as in (20) – (22).

(20) *bo belaikhe thu-suk-kha*
he adv-advlz come-INT-PST
'He slept excessively'

(21) *bo belai-khe munui-suk-kha*
He adv-advlz laugh-INT PST
'He laughed excessively'

(22) *bo belai-khe kap-suk-kha*
He adv-advlz cry-INT-PST
'He cried excessively'

4.5. Frequency adverb

This type of adverb is known variously as 'repetitive' or 'frequentative' adverbs in the literature (c.f. Cinque, 1999:104). Frequency adverbs modify the meaning of the verb by indicating the number of times the action took place or will take place or has taken place and as Givon (1993:73) points out, their semantic scope is over the 'entire event-clause, i.e, the whole

proposition.' In Kokborok, they may be single-word adverbs like: *somane* 'always' as well as derived *jora-jora* 'sometimes'.

Some frequency adverbs have the morphology of classifier constructions. They are analyzable as being of the form X-Y, where Y is a numeral. According to the classification of classifiers by Allan (1977: 299), the first elements of these forms are called 'action classifiers'. Most characteristically they function as adverbs of frequency. Adverbs of frequency can be derived by attaching the frequentative prefix along with the numerals. The morpheme *wai-* is used for general repetitive actions. Frequency adverbs precede the verbs as illustrated in (23) – (26).

(23) *wai-sa nuk-kha* 'saw once' (nuk 'to see', -sa 'one')

(24) *wai-tham nai-kha* 'looked thrice' (nai 'to look', -tham 'three')

(25) *wai-ba sung-kha* 'asked five times' (sung 'ask', -ba 'five')

(26) *wai-dok man-kha* 'got six times' (man 'get', -dok 'six')

4.6 Scope adverbs

Scope adverbs, sometimes also known as 'extent adverbs', express the extent of an action or measurement of a quantity. They are functional adverbs with a limited number in the set. They usually occur in preverbal, as shown below in (27) and (28):

bebak 'all'
baksa 'together'
gila 'many'
kisa 'little'

(27) *bebak pai-di*
all buy-IMP
'buy all'

(28) *baksa thang-di*
together go-IMP
'go together'

4.7. Position of Adverbs in a Sentence

Adverbs and adverbial phrases are not obligatory in the Kokborok sentence. It only adds additional information. Since the verb phrase is the final constituent in a Kokborok clause or sentence, the last possible position of an adverb is right before the verb phrase. Adverbs occur before verbs or other adverbs and adjectives as shown in previous examples.

5. Conclusion

This preliminary study has looked at some aspects of the syntactic, semantic and morphological properties of some Kokborok adverbs. Structurally, both derived and non-derived adverbs exist in Kokborok. Syntactically adverbs in Kokborok generally occur before the verb. Semantically, there are six types of adverbs: manner, temporal, place, degree, frequency and scope. The formally reduplicated adverbs are all either adverbs of manners.

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Abbreviations

ADVLZ	adverbializer
FUT	future
PST	past
IMP	imperative
INT	intensification
LOC	locative
NOMZ	nominalizer
VP	verb phrase

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A STUDY OF TRANSLATABILITY AND CULTURAL TRANSMISSION IN TOTO LANGUAGE BASED ON A SELECT LEXICON

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A B S T R A C T
Toto is one of the UNESCO recognized endangered languages of India spoken by the Toto community residing in a small, jungle belt in Alipurduar district of West Bengal. The language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. The language is non-economic as well, since, the speakers of this language generally do not use the language away from their home domain for the purpose of education or employment. Considering the undeniable factor of endangerment as a result of several linguistic and extra-linguistic reasons, the phenomena of cultural transmission and the translatability of the Toto language has always been a pertinent research question considered by several researchers. This research paper primarily focuses on the cultural transmission and translatability of the language. During this research, a select trilingual lexicon has been built based on the three domains; food-items, kinship terms and time in three languages; Toto, Bangla and English respectively, based on field work conducted by the researcher.

The direct language contact and cultural transmission can be traced when Toto and Bangla are studied in parallel. The apparent reason is, the Toto language has been significantly influenced by both the linguistic and extra-linguistic features of Bangla. For instance, a few food items and kinship terms unique to the Toto culture exist in Bengali culture as well. Although the Bangla equivalents for these specific terms exist, the English equivalents are not available; which exhibits untranslatability of culture-specific terms in certain cases. The kinship terms in Toto language also depicts the fact that, there has been a clear cultural transmission between Toto and Bangla. In this research, a precise attempt has been made to study the aforementioned factors of cultural transmission, translatability and the linguistic influences of other dominant languages spoken in the specific region on Toto language based on the data obtained from the fieldwork.

1. Introduction

Toto is one of the UNESCO recognized endangered languages of India spoken by the Toto community residing in a small, jungle belt in Alipurduar district of West Bengal. The language belongs to a Himalayan sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman language family. It is spoken in an area called Totopara located in Madarihat under the police station of Alipurduar, which is a sub-division of the Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal in the eastern part of India. The Toto villages are located at the foothills of the Himalayas towards the south of the border between Bhutan and West Bengal. The Titi forest lies at the southern and the eastern boundaries of the region of Totopara while the Torsa river marks the eastern boundary. The region of Totopara can be further sub-classified into six small villages, namely, Mondalgaon, Dumsigaon, Pujagaon, Subagaon, Ponchayetgaon and Mitrangaon. G. A. Grierson (1903) in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (pp-250-251) opines that, Toto is a non-pronominalised language. Toto is a non-economic language as well, since, the speakers of this language generally do not use the language away from their home domain for the purpose of education or employment.

According to the census of 2011, conducted by the government of India, the total number of the speakers of the Toto language was 1386. Chibiram Basumatary , in his paper "The Phonological Study of Toto Language", (pp- 60-61) provides a census report where the survey was conducted by him in the year 2014. He also provides the number of the speakers of the language from 1901 to 2014 in detail. He takes into consideration both the surveys conducted by the government as well as the surveys conducted by the individual researchers when he prepares the census report. In the year 2014, there were total 1411 Toto language-speakers in Totopara according to the survey conducted by Chibiram Basumatary, which is, by far, the latest recorded physical survey conducted in Totopara.

The initial aim of this project is to build a lexicon concentrated on the three selected domains, namely, food items, kinship terms and time. The lexicon is trilingual; both Bangla and English languages has been used along with Toto language while building the select lexicon. This lexicon has been built with an aim to study the cultural transmission as well as the possibility of translation both from and within the languages Bangla, English and Toto which concentrates upon the domain of the selected lexical domains. The issues concerning untranslatability have also been identified and adequately addressed in this paper. The trilingual select lexicon is based on the Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages (SPPEL) wordlist, which is originally in English. Since no physical survey could be done on Toto language due to adverse pandemic situation as well as shortage of time, the data for the Toto language has been collected from the speakers of the Toto language based on the SPPEL wordlist via phone call or google meet or, certain specific face-to-face interviews which have been recorded with the consent of the speakers of the language.

The first part of the project, thus, is based on the documentation of endangered language by building select lexicon. In the second part, the process of cultural transmission, the translatability of the Toto language into Bangla and English languages along with the influence of Bangla, which is a dominant language spoken in that region has been studied.

2. Literature Review:

Several research works have been conducted by the scholars and researchers which are related to the documentation of endangered language which includes Toto language as well.

In the paper “A Descriptive Grammar of Toto” (2016), Chibiram Basumatary writes about the Phonological features in of Toto language specifying the areas of Phonemic inventory, descriptions and distributions, diphthongs, vowel sequences, germination clusters and consonant sequences. In another paper titled “The Phonological Study of Toto Language”, (1962) the authors; Sam Mohanlal, BA Sharada, AR Faithi, Lakhan Gusain and Jennifer Marie Baver SM study about the Phonological features in the areas of Phonemic inventory, descriptions and distributions, diphthongs and vowel sequences.

In the paper “Kinship terms in Hruso”, (2015) the author Lucky Dey focusses on the kinship terminologies in Hruso language and attempts to look into its linguistic classification as a Tibeto-Burman language. In the paper “Argument structure of Oneida kinship terms”(2010), the authors Jean-Pierre Koenig and Karin Michelson specifically study the linking of the arguments of some kinship terms to pronominal prefixes which is qualitatively different from the linking of the arguments of verbs to pronominal prefixes in that the linking does not follow from the meaning of the kinship term but from the age of the actual persons who are related by those.

In the paper “Nubian kinship terms”(2013), Angelika Jakobi writes about Nubian kinship terms which includes terms for consanguineal relations that is, blood relations and terms for affinal relations that is, relations by marriage. In the paper “Tabaq Kinship Terms”(2015), Khaleel Ismail focuses on the proper positioning of social relations and genealogical structure of kinship terms in Tabaq in terms of distance and proximity. This paper is more of an ethnolinguistic work. In the paper “Dual marking and kinship terms in Afitti”(2011), the author Alex De Voogt erites about the dual and plural forms as a part of its kinship terminology. According to the author, the morphological study of the data in Afitti language should help in the analysis of its kinship terms in details.

In the paper “Kinship and some lexicographic issues”(2015) , the author Cristina Fargetti tries to discuss the problems to a lexicographic work with the documentation of kinship terms and tries to think about some methodological approaches which will be suitable for a linguist.

In the paper “Language attrition and its implication in Hausa kinship terms”(2017), the authors Abubakar Zailani Abdulkadir and Halimatu Dogara Abbas provide a survey of attrition of the Hausa kinship terms by the speakers of the Hausa language. They particularly focus on the lexical attrition taking place in the Hausa speech community. In the paper “Variation and change in Taa kinship terminologies: Methodological approaches and diachronic interpretations”, the author Gertrud Boden focuses on the kinship system which is made up of kinship terms, terminological structures, norms, rules of behavior, social practices and senses of relatedness. In the paper “Brother, sister, cousin and companion: The cultural meaning of kinship terms in Acazulco Otomi” the author MP Hansen analyses the kinship terms of Acazulco Otomi linguistically. In the paper “On the development of some Saami kinship terms”(2020), the author Olle Kejonen produces a historical- comparative list of the Saami kinship terms in different varieties and specific idioms.

In the paper “A Salvage Linguistic Anthropological Study of the endangered Mangta Language of West Bengal”(2019), the authors Sumahan Bandopadhyay and Doel Chatterjee has attempted to document the severely endangered Mangta language and suggest measures for saving it from complete extinction.

In the paper "Describing Endangered Languages: Experiences from Nihali Documentation Project", the author S. Mohan writes about his fieldwork on Nihali language and focuses on its structural traits at phonological, syntactic and semantic level.

3. Information regarding the respondent and Toto lexicon:

The lexicon on Toto language has been created mainly based on the CIIL wordlist. The domains which have been chosen for the lexicon are food items, kinship terms and time and season. Unfortunately, due to the pandemic, field visit to Totopara could not be conducted. Therefore, the data was collected by the medium of recorded phone-call as well as meeting some of the speakers away from specific region with their due consent.

The respondents' mother tongue is Toto. Apart from Toto language, they speak Bangla, Nepali, Rajbanshi, Sadri, Hindi and English. The respondents use Toto language as a medium of communication in their home-domain. In school, the respondents used to communicate through the medium of Toto, Bangla, Rajbanshi and Nepali. In the market domain, the respondents use Toto language as a mean of communication with the people who belong to the Toto community. The respondent speaks in Bangla, Nepali, Rajbanshi and Hindi languages whenever they need to communicate with the people from the other communities apart from the Toto community.

The people from the Toto community follow indigenous religion and culture. They generally worship the elements of nature, for instance, the river. The respondents use Toto language while praying to God, performing rituals, singing religious songs, talking with other worshippers and performing religious discussions. When, they meet any stranger, the respondents generally speak in Bangla, Hindi, Nepali, Rajbanshi and English. Although at present there is access to modern means of health-care, still, some native doctors can be found among the Toto community who uses natural medicines for healing any disease. The respondents speak in Toto language with these native doctors.

The data in Toto language has been collected by following the CIIL wordlist. Some extralinguistic information and data could be received from the respondent apart from the equivalents of words from the wordlist. All the three domains include a lot of terms which are non-existent in the given wordlist. Also, certain items which exist in the wordlist and are abundantly used by the other communities do not have equivalent terms in the Toto language. All these issues have been addressed in detail in the later part of this paper.

The trilingual lexicon has been built in the order of English, Bangla and Toto. Roman script has been used for English and Bangla script has been used for both Bangla and Toto data. The headwords have been listed from the Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages (SPPEL) wordlist published by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

There are total three seasons in the region of the northern part of West Bengal, precisely, in Totopara, that is, summer, monsoon and winter. Thus, the equivalents of these three seasons exist in the Toto language which are *makhu*, *yerkhu* and *seikhu* respectively. The equivalents for the terms like autumn or spring does not exist in Toto language since those seasons does not exist in that geographical region. Hence, the seasons of autumn and spring can be treated as untranslatable terms in Toto language. Also, there exist no specific term for the word "season" in Toto language. However, the equivalents of the three seasons of summer, monsoon and winter, as well as autumn and spring exist in Bangla language since autumn and spring can be experienced

in the southern, central and eastern parts of West Bengal. For the terms ‘date’, ‘day’ and ‘today’, there exist only one equivalent in Toto language, that is, *hini*. However, in Bangla, there exist separate terms for these three words. The Bangla equivalent of the term date is *Tarikh*, for day is din and for today is *aj*. Thus, it can be concluded that, there exist a gap as well as an issue of translatability of the term *hini* since there lies a vagueness of the notion of meaning in the existent term in Toto language.

No specific counting system for counting the hours exist in Toto language. The speakers of this language use the counting system similar to the Indo-Aryan languages in order to count the hours in a day.

The people from the Toto community initially had the time-span of one year divided into eleven months, that is, *Magh, Fagun, Caita, Baisakh, Jaith, Asar, Sawan, Bhadra, Asac, Kartik* and *Mangsir*. Later on, another month, *Pus* was added to the counting system, thus dividing one year into twelve months. The names of the months in Toto language have similarity with the same in Bangla. Also, there exist a unique term for the expression “next to next year” in Toto language, that is, baːrmaː, the equivalent of which does not exist in Bangla or English. This clearly exhibit the phenomena of untranslatability of certain terms of the language.

Time and Seasons:

English	**Bangla**	**Toto**
Dawn	ভোর	ʒoŋwa haːkpuŋ
Morning	সকাল	haːkpuŋ
Afternoon	দুপুর	ʒesuŋ
Evening	সন্ধ্যা	ʒeroŋ
Night	রাত্রি	lisuŋ
Hours	ঘণ্টা	ghənta
Date	তারিখ	hini
Day	দিন	hini
Today	আজ	hini
Tomorrow	কাল	ʒukuŋ
Day after tomorrow	পরশু	ii
Yesterday	গতকাল	hainʒi
Day before yesterday	গতপরশু	əipui
Week	সপ্তাহ	həpɵa
Last week	গত সপ্তাহ	əipuiko həpɵa
Next week	আগামী সপ্তাহ	noiko həpɵa
Month	মাস	məina

Last month	গত মাস	əipuiko məina
Next month	আগামী মাস	noiko məina
Year	বছর	sa:l
Last year	গত বছর	noiko sa:l
This year	চলতি বছর	hirma:
Next year	আগামী বছর	dorma:
Next to next year		bərma:
Winter	শীত	seikʰu:
Summer	গ্রীষ্ম	ma:kʰu:
Monsoon	বর্ষা	ierkʰu:

A lot of English lexical head-words in case of food items could not be translated to Toto language, although, most of these terms have Bangla equivalents. Also, a lot of food items unique to Toto culture exist. Among those unique food items, some can be translated only to Bangla while some others can be translated neither to English, nor to Bangla. The common Indian spices like *ajwain*, *saunf*, black pepper, cinnamon, clove, cumin seed are generally not used by the speakers of the Toto community as their food. Hence, the equivalents for those terms could not be found in Toto language although these equivalents exist in Bangla language. Toto speakers generally use certain spices like *pendrasing, joising and yoyeng* along with salt (*ni*), chili (*muri*) and turmeric (*imba*) in their food. Except for the items like salt, chilli and turmeric, the other three spices are unique to the culture of the Toto community. Bangla or English equivalents do not exist for those three terms except for salt, chili and turmeric.

Among the people of the Toto community, corn seeds are generally consumed by boiling which they treat as rice. They call this food item as *seinjakuama.* Corn (*soingja*) is considered as the staple food among the people of the Toto community. Also, another sort of food grain which is quite similar to rice is consumed by the people of the Toto community. That particular food grain is called as *jonkoanku* by the people of the Toto community which can be translated as *kaoner cal* in Bangla. No English term exists for this particular kind of food grain.

Different kinds of roots are consumed by the people of the Toto community like *laka, loyla, dangning, buring, during, tairing, loishuyo and soteying.* The equivalent terms for these roots exist neither in English, nor in Bangla. Although the respondents could describe the taste, shape and structure of these food items, he could not provide any translation for these terms in Bangla or English. The people consume various sorts of green leavy vegetables like spinach as well. Although the term spinach can be translated into Bangla as *shak*, the various names for the green leafy vegetables consumed by the people of the Toto community could not be translated. For instance, the people from the Toto community consume *mururshai, birshai, marushai, churushai and chingshai.* All these food items have equivalents neither in English, nor in Bangla.

Here too, the respondents provided a detailed description regarding the taste of these leafy vegetables, although, he could not provide any equivalent for these terms in Bangla or English languages.

Different sorts of fish (*naya*) is consumed in the community as well. Bangla equivalents for the various sorts of fish can be found but English equivalents for those words do not exist. Fishes like *'chyang' (tunga), 'jeding' (boroli), 'shol' (joinga), 'bang' (paga), 'ar'(nyaga), 'cepri' (depring)* are consumed by the people of the Toto community. All these terms are translatable to Bangla but they cannot be translated to English due to the absence of the equivalent terms.

Most of the issues of untranslatability could be noted in the domain of the food items. A gap between the lexical terms of the Toto, Bangla and English languages in the domain of food items could be traced which has been addressed as the issues of linguistic as well as cultural untranslatability. Here, the discrepancies which could be noted among the Toto, Bangla and English data based on the select lexicon has been described in detail. An attempt has been made to address the gap, issues of translatability and cultural transmission focusing on Toto, Bangla and English language data based on the domain of food items. In the following table, the food items whose equivalents could be found in Bangla and English languages have been provided along with their meanings.

Food Items:

English	Bangla	Toto
Rice	চাল	amə
Paddy	ধান	aŋku:
Corn	ভুট্টা	səiŋʤə
Boiled Corn	সিদ্ধ ভুট্টা	səiŋʤəku amə
Potato	আলু	beta:ru:
Tomato	টমেটো, বিলিতি বেগুন	lamberə
Chilli	লঙ্কা	muri:
Spinach	শাক	sha:k
Okra	ঢ্যাঁড়স	bʰendi
Pumpkin	কুমড়ো	pagru:ʃi
Gourd	লাউ	guʃəi
Raddish	মুলো	mula:
Carrot	গাজর	geʤur
Peas	কড়াইশুঁটি	capraʃai
Dal	ডাল	da:l
Meat	মাংস	bia:
Pork	শুয়োরের মাংস	pakako bia:
Beef	গোমাংস	pikako bia:
Chicken	মুরগির মাংস	kekako bia:

Mutton	পাঁঠার মাংস	etako bia:
Milk	দুধ	iui:ɵi
Fish	মাছ	na^{y}a
Apple	আপেল	a:pel
Coconut	নারকেল	narikel
Banana	কলা	iyuŋpi
Mango	আম	ɵəiʃe
Lemon	লেবু	ʤəmʃe
Orange	কমলালেবু	su:nərə
Guava	পেয়ারা	ɵəŋbərʃə
Watermelon	তরমুজ	ɵərbu:ʤ
Grapes	আঙ্গুর	əŋu:r
Beetle nut	সুপারি	gu:ai
Beetle leaves	পান	pra:i
Curry	ঝোল	ʃaiki
Salt	লবণ	ni
Onion	পেঁয়াজ	peyaʤi
Garlic	রসুন	meŋsai
Ginger	আদা	eŋ
Oil	তেল	cuɵi
Fat	চর্বি	naibi
Bamboo Shoots		ciŋsai
Fern		siŋsai
Tea	চা	ca:siŋ
Milk tea	দুধ-চা	iyurɵi ko ca:siŋ
Salt tea	লবন-চা	ni ca:siŋ
Honey	মধু	məða:
Sweet	মিষ্টি	ɵewa:
Salty	নোনতা	ɵra:iwa
Sour	টক	yawa
Spicy	ঝাল	ɵaiwa
Bitter	তেঁতো	kawa
Sweet Meat	মিষ্টি	tatawa
Pickles	আচার	accar
Puffed rice	মুড়ি	muri
Water	জল	ɵi
Liquor	মদ	lu:
Food	খাদ্য	ɵamacaro

In case of the domain of the kinship terms, the word 'child' is gender neutral in both Toto and Bangla language. In the Toto language, the equivalent of the word 'child' is *cengri*. In Bangla, the equivalent of the word 'child' is *bacca*, although the term *chhele* which stands for boy and *meye* which is an equivalent to girl is used as a suffix with the root-word *bacca* at times in order to specify the gender of the child. This particular case can be treated as a case of cultural transmission since both Bangla and Toto have similar gender-neutral equivalents for the English word 'child'.

Both bridegroom and younger sister's husband in Toto language is called as *mawa*. However, these terms have separate equivalents in Bangla language. In Bangla, the bridegroom is termed as *bor* and sister's husband is termed as *bonai* or *bhoginipoti*. Thus, an issue of translatability can be found in this case due to vagueness of meaning and absence of terms with separate equivalents in Toto language.

The word *chhele* stands for son and the word *jamai* stands for son-in-law in Bangla. The equivalents for the terms elder sister and husband's brother's wife are similar in Toto language, that is, ana. Separate equivalents for these terms exist in Bangla language where elder sister is called as *didi*, husband's brother's wife is called as *ja* . In all these cases, the non-existence of specific kinship terms in the Toto language is responsible for the usage of a single term for various purposes and contexts and thus, has given rise to an issue of non-translatability along with a gap between Bangla and Toto languages.

The male siblings in Toto language are classified as *tube* (eldest)*, maila* (second)*, saila* (third)*, kaila* (fourth) *and kaica* (youngest).The female siblings are classified as *culli* (eldest)*, maili* (second)*, saili* (third)*, kaili* (fourth) and *kanci* (youngest). This culture of identifying the siblings according to their age is very much similar to the Bengali culture, where, the siblings, both male and female, are identified in the similar way. However, the system of identification in Toto language is different from that of Bangla, since, the Toto identifiers of age are also determined by gender. The identifiers of age in Bangla are not determined by gender, for instance, *boro* (eldest)*, mejo* (second)*, sejo* (third)*, choto* (youngest). These classifications of the siblings according to age is very much unique to both the Toto and Bengali culture. These terms could not be translated in English.

Although most of the equivalent terms in Toto language in the domain of kinship terms have similarity with the Tibeto-Burman language family, the equivalent for mother's sister, that is, *mausi* and the equivalent to mother's sister's husband, that is, *mausa* has similarities with the Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla and Hindi which are spoken by many non-Toto speakers in that region. Thus, we can say that a cultural transmission between Toto and Bangla has taken place which has influenced these kinship equivalents of mother's sister and mother's sister's husband. Also, husband's sister is called as *nanda* which is clearly influenced by the Bengali term for the same, that is, *nanad.* Also, the terms for father's sister and father's sister's husband is *pisai* and *puisa* respectively, which is similar to the Bengali terms for the same, *pisi* and *pisemosai.*

The kinship terms of the Toto language do not exhibit untranslatability as such. But, these terms clearly exhibit a cultural transmission among the Toto and Bengali community with regards to language.

Kinship Terms:

English	Bangla	Toto
Baby	শিশু	ape
Bachelor	অবিবাহিত	biomoʒwa:
Blind	অন্ধ	mitʃomiɵiŋwa
Bride	বঁধু	biola:
Bridegroom	বর	biuli:
Elder brother	দাদা	taboðua:
Younger brother	ভাই	hemri
Elder brother's wife	বউদি	nua
Younger brother's wife	ভাই-বউ	buari
Brother's daughter	ভাইঝি	cereme
Brother's son	ভাইপো	cereŋwa
Child	শিশু	ape
Childhood	শৈশব	aɵeʒganu:
Daughter	মেয়ে	ceme
Daughter-in-law	বউমা	buari
Daughter-in-law's father	বেয়াই	səmði
Daughter-in-law's mother	বেয়ান	səmðini
Daughter's daughter	নাতনী	cume
Daughter's son	নাতি	cua
Son's daughter	নাতনি	cume
Son's son	নাতি	cua
Elder sister's husband	জামাইবাবু	go:
Younger sister's husband	ভগিনীপতি	mawa
Son-in-law	জামাই	mawa
Family	পরিবার	saso
Father	বাবা	apa
Father-in-law	শ্বশুর	ʒua
Father's elder brother	জ্যাঠামশাই	ʒiɵə
Father's elder brother's wife	জ্যাঠাইমা	ʒiɵai
Father's younger brother	কাকা	paŋ

Father’s younger brother’s wife	কাকিমা	a:su
Father’s elder brother’s son	জ্যাঠতুতো ভাই	ʤiөwa
Father’s elder brother’s daughter	জ্যাঠতুতো বোন	ʤiөmə
Father’s younger brother’s daughter	খুড়তুতো বোন	ceremə
Father’s younger brother’s son	খুড়তুতো ভাই	cereŋwa
Father’s father	ঠাকুরদা	aөa
Father’s mother	ঠাকুমা	aʤa
Father’s sister	পিসি	pisai
Father’s sister’s husband	পিসেমশাই	puisa
Father’s sister’s son	পিসতুতো ভাই	piswa
Father’s sister’s daughter	পিসতুতো বোন	pismə
Friend	বন্ধু	baro
Friends	বন্ধুগণ	barbai
Girl	মেয়ে	memə
Granddaughter	নাতনি	cumə
Grandson	নাতি	cua
Guest	অতিথি	pawna
Husband	স্বামী	wa:
Husband’s elder brother	ভাসুর	ðua:/apu:
Husband’s younger brother	দেওর	hemri
Husband’s elder brother’s wife	জা	ana:
Husband’s younger brother’s wife	জা	hemri
Husband’s elder sister	ননদ	aninənða:
Husband’s younger sister	ননদ	nənda:
Male	পুরুষ	poʤa:
Female	নারী	meme
Old man	বৃদ্ধ	waraŋpa:
Old woman	বৃদ্ধা	waraŋme:
Young man	যুবক	oʤabai

Young woman	যুবতী	memceŋ
Man	পুরুষ	poʒa:
Human	মানুষ	ðeʒə
Marriage	বিবাহ	bio/ seme
Mother	মা	a:iu
Mother-in-law	শাশুড়ি	ʒumə
Mother's brother	মামা	kʰu
Mother's brother's wife	মামিমা	kʰuku
Mother's brother's son	মামাতো ভাই	ðua:
Mother's brother's daughter	মামাতো বোন	hemri
Mother's sister	মাসী	mausi
Mother's sister's husband	মেসমশাই	mausa:
Mother's sister's son	মাসতুতো ভাই	mesua:
Mother's sister's daughter	মাসতুতো বোন	musmə
Parents	বাবা-মা	a:paiu
Relatives	আত্মীয়	a:bikouðea
Short man	বেঁটে পুরুষ	niua poʒa
Short woman	বেঁটে মহিলা	niua meme
Tall man	লম্বা পুরুষ	hiŋua poʒa
Tall woman	লম্বা মহিলা	hiŋua meme
Younger sister	বোন	himri
Elder sister	দিদি	ana
Younger sister's husband	ভগিনীপতি	mawa
Elder sister's husband	জামাইবাবু	go
Sister-in-law(younger)	ভাই-বউ	sali
Sister-in-law(elder)	বউদি	anaʒu
Sister's son	বোনপো	bʰanʒa:
Sister's daughter	বোনঝি	bʰanʒi
Son	ছেলে	cewa
Son-in-law	জামাই	mawa
Son-in-law's father	বেয়াই	səmði
Son-in law's mother	বেয়ান	səmðini
Son's son	নাতি	cua

Son’s daughter	নাতনী	cumi
Spinster	অবিবাহিতা	biuməʒwa meme
Widow	বিধবা	bəiði
Married woman	বিবাহিতা	biʒwa meme
Married man	বিবাহিত	biʒwa poʒa
Wife	স্ত্রী	me
Wife’s brother (elder)	শ্যালক	ʒetʰu
Wife’s brother (younger)	শ্যালক	salo
Wife’s elder brother’s wife	শালা-বউ	nua
Wife’s younger brother’s wife	শালা-বউ	buari
Wife’s elder sister	শ্যালিকা	anaʒu
Wife’s younger sister	শ্যালিকা	sali
Woman	নারী	meme

In this paper, an attempt has been made to identify and address the gap between the words of the Toto language and their Bangla and English counterparts. The translatability, cultural transmission as well as the gap between Toto, Bangla and English words has been studied in detail with the lexicon covering the domains of food items, time and season and kinship terms.

The gap between English and Toto language is clearly visible when it comes to the domain of food items. Most of the unique food items consumed by the people of the Toto community could not be translated into English. However, most of the food items could be translated in Bangla except for a few items of food like the roots of certain plants or certain specific spices which are unique to the Toto culture.

In case of time and season, only three seasons, namely summer, monsoon and winter exist as seasons in the region of Totopara located in the northern part of West Bengal. Therefore, no words for autumn and spring exist in Toto language which indicates a gap between Toto, Bangla and English. Also, a similar word *hini* exist for date, day and today in the Toto language. In Bangla and English, however, there exist separate terms for all the three above mentioned words. Thus, there exist an issue of translatability from Bangla or English into Toto language due to non-existence of adequate lexicons.

In case of the kinship terms, many similar words exist for different relations. The issue of translatability from Bangla and English into Toto language exists here as well. The vagueness of meaning and absence of separate lexical terms in Toto language for a lot of kinship terms such as bridegroom and younger sister’s husband, elder sister and husband’s sister’s wife and so on. In English, there does not exist separate terms for all these kinship terms but, it exists in Bangla. Also, a gender neutral term *hemri* could be found which is used to describe both blood and

conjugal relations of younger brother, younger sister, husband's younger brother and husband's younger brother's wife. No such gender-neutral terms exist in Bangla or English. Thus, a lexical gap can be traced between the Bangla and Toto language when it comes to the domain of the kinship terms.

This project has a lot of limitations and shortcomings. Due to the pandemic, no physical visit to the field could take place. As a result, only a few respondents could be interviewed for the purpose of the project. Also, the data which they provided could not be verified since the field visit could not take place.

Since no physical visit to the field was possible, there might exist a lot of gap between the real-life situation in the region of Totopara and this project. Only the gap between the Toto, Bangla and English languages along with the issue of translatability has been studied here. But, this project can be extended in a more detailed procedure. Physical visit can be made to the field and the more data can be collected from the various speakers of the Toto language from different other domains apart from food items, time and season and kinship terms. Thus, a comparative study between the lexicon of the Toto, Bangla and English will be possible in a much larger scale focusing on a lot of different domains.

However, this project tried to focus on the issues of translatability and cultural transmission among the Toto, Bangla and English language by focusing on the gap among the lexicons of those languages with a focus on the domains of food items, time and season and lexical terms. Further detailed research work based on this topic can be conducted in future.

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A study on the importance and method of teaching basic English Grammar using Bilingual Teaching in Higher Education English Language Classrooms in India – A Pragmatic View.

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A B S T R A C T

Need of expertise in the English Language is more critical and increasing day by day in India. The medium of instruction in schools in India are both in English and in regional languages as well. Even most of the English medium schools are struggling to improve the English Language skills of the student in larger extent. Most of the other Regional Language medium schools cannot produce effective English Language Skills because of the medium of instruction. The Higher Education classrooms of India attract the student who struggle to understand the English Language in basic level. The diverse student body of Indian classroom not only differ in culture but also in the English Language proficiency which demands the efficient teaching method of English. It demands the bilingual education in Higher Educational English Language Classrooms of India. This study delves into the problem of bilingual teaching in English Language Classrooms in Higher Education level. It tries to find solutions by analysing the necessity of a balanced approach that gives importance to the job market which is based on English Language to most extent.

1. Introduction

Various professional fields in India and other countries of the world demands English Language Proficiency in communication and writing. Rich linguistic diversity of India and its influence on the mindset of the people creates struggles in learning other languages. The importance of English proficiency in higher education for the employment cannot be denied. In a short period of time in Under Graduate level, the student should develop the communication skill in English which is a necessary skill for employment. If the student comes to higher education classroom without enough basic knowledge in English Language, it becomes a tough task for the educator to teach the advance level skills in language. This study analyses the problems of the students

and educators in all possible perspectives and it further studies the possibilities of bilingual teaching in higher education classroom for the benefit of the students in their employment.

1.1 Methods of Teaching Basic English in Higher Education classroom

Various methods of teaching English in Indian higher education classrooms were discussed in detailed by various experts in the field of Language, Education and Psychology. So many possible solutions were derived. When the student enters the higher education without enough basic English language knowledge, teaching English in advance level becomes meaningless. To teach basic English in a fast way in a very short period of time in a bridge course which is having 15 classes is a difficult task. For that, the teacher should identify the students who are not having enough basic English grammar by an Entry test with a simple paragraph writing about their school life experience. This entry test result will help the teacher to identify the students who need help in basic grammar. If the College or University is not having bridge course to teach English, the teacher should find extra class hours to teach them basics. Bridge course class hours can be utilised to refresh and teach basic grammar. The following methods of Language teaching can be used to teach basic English grammar in the period of short time of 15 classes.

1.2 Structural Approach

Structural Approach helps to teach the language in detail and step by step.

1. Teaching vocabulary with the basic grammar will help the student in employment.
2. 1st Day: Teacher can find 100 important verbs with the all three verb forms such as Present, Past and Past Participle forms with the correct meaning and spelling will help the student to have 300 words of English with meaning.
3. 2nd Day: Teacher should explain the Active tense forms and Students can be asked to write all the 12 Active tense form sentences for each verb with a simple sentence structure with one Adjective or Compliment word as discussed below: 1. I write letter; 2. I am writing letter, 3. I have written letter, 4. I have been writing letter; 5. I wrote letter; 6. I was writing letter; 7. I had written letter; 8. I had been writing letter; 9. I will write letter; 10. I will be writing letter; 11. I will have written letter; 12. I will have been writing letter. So, the second day, student will learn active tense forms and new a new word for each verb with the different subject both Singular and Plural as I, You, We, They, He, She and various other subjects according to the preference of the teacher.
4. 3rd Day: Teacher should make sure the following basic grammar of English.
   I. The student will be having the knowledge of Simple sentence structure of English with Subject, Verb and Compliment.
   II. Subject as Pronouns and other Noun words with correct spelling and meaning
   III. The auxiliary verbs "Has / Have" with correct usage in a sentence.
   IV. All the verb forms of 12 active tense forms.
5. 4th and 5th Day: Teacher can give practice to convert simple sentences for all the 100 verb forms with a simple compliment words with the help of homework. If doing homework is not possible for the student, the teacher can extent the classes and make sure that the student has learned the basic concept which is important for further learning.
6. 6th Day: Teacher can ask the student to convert a sentence in all the active tense forms as a simple test and encourage the student to read aloud. With the help of home work and rigourous practice, the student will be having 100 verbs and 100 different subject words,

100 different compliment words with correct spelling and meaning. Now, the student will be having 300 English words with spelling and meaning.

7. 7th Day: Teacher can teach Passive forms with verb structure. New words can be used to convert passive sentences. Teacher can make sure that another 200 new words can be taught.
8. 8th, 9th and 10th Day: All the three days with a training in the class and with a detailed homework, the student will be having a basic sentence structure SVO in active and passive forms.
9. 11th Day: Teacher can give a test in both active and passive forms to make sure the learning. This test will help to identify the students who needs more detailed instruction to learn further. If so, the student can be repeated with the above method again.
10. 12th Day: Teacher can introduce Direct Object and Indirect Object in a sentence for the all 100 verbs.
11. 13th and 14th Day: Students can be given a writing practice with Direct Object and Indirect Object with the four types of sentence pattern which are Simple sentence, Interrogative Sentence, Imperative Sentence and Imperative Sentence. Now the student is having 800 words of English with correct meaning and spelling and Sentence structure and pattern.
12. 15th Day: Final test can be given and the student who needs more time can be repeated the process with enough extra class hours as special classes and home work.

1.3 Grammar Translation Method

The same steps can be followed like structural method with the translation practice to help the student to understand the differences between the mother tongue and English. An English word with the correct meaning and equivalent word of mother tongue builds the confidence in the student.

1.4 Vocabulary Teaching

The teacher can select the verbs, nouns and other compliment and object words from the main discipline of the student, so that the student can be helped to understand his major subject easily. For example, the Commerce student can be helped with the commerce related words, life science students can be helped with related major subject words. 800 English words with correct meaning and spelling is the target for the bridge course and it can be increased further according to the ability of the student group.

1.5 Continuing the bridge course – Special Classes

If the target is not achieved in the bridge course, teacher can proceed further the teaching basic grammar in special classes like extra hours after the regular college hours or online classes to help the student to learn further. Giving writing practice in the regular class hours of English for a particular time will definitely help the student to learn effectively.

2. Research Objectives

The following research objectives are discussed in the study

1. Analysing the basic English knowledge of the higher education students when they enter into college for Under Graduation and employment.
2. Analysing the number of semesters, the students were taught English language in their curriculum and curriculum design for learning the language in advance level for employment.
3. Analysing the approach and methodologies opted for teaching English in the higher education classrooms.
4. Discussing the results and findings for the research problem to teach English Language in a given time frame of Higher Education for the employment.

3. Theoretical background

Experience in teaching English Language in the higher education institutions made the researcher to think on the research problem by understanding the problem of the students in learning English Language in a given time frame. The researcher is sharing the solution for the research problem with the practical experience of teaching English Language in the higher education classrooms.

4. Research Methodology

The following research methodology is applied to find the possible solution for the study.

The study is done by using the theoretical research methodology for the following reasons.

1. Studying the various methods of teaching English in a mainstream English Language classroom of higher education level for better employment of the student.

2. Studying the researcher's experience in teaching English in higher education classrooms and discussing the possible solutions with the other teachers of English in Indian higher education classrooms.

5. Discussions

5.1. Bilingual method of teaching

The above said structural approach can be taught using bilingual method of teaching for the fast teaching and learning because the aim of teaching is basic English grammar and vocabulary with correct spelling and meaning. The time span of teaching is very short and the student has to learn the prescribed syllabus simultaneously with the other subjects. In the new environment of college and syllabus with new friends and teachers, learning becomes difficult and challenging for the student who struggles in basic language skills. Learning the equivalent words in mother tongue builds the confidence in the learner and motivates the learner to learn further. When the student comes from the regional language medium of instruction in school, the student may not have equivalent subject words in English, so the bridge course can be utilised to familiarise the student with the major subject words in English. All the subjects of higher education are taught in English. It is very important for the student to have enough basic vocabulary in English with the meaning.

5.2. Bridge course or Special Classes

If the college is not providing bridge course, the whole idea given in this study can be handled as special classes with a detailed homework and Extra classes also can be planned by the teacher. Extra classes can also be planned as Online to help the students. Extra class hours will not be possible for the student who do part time job to help the family. In that case, 10 to 15 minutes of writing practice in the regular class hours can also help the student to learn. Creating willingness to study on the extra class hours will really help the student to work hard and learn in a short time. Giving special attention in a mainstream classroom is challenging. The teacher should make sure that the other students also be engaged in activities.

5.3. Duration of the teaching

The above discussed activity can be modified according to the need of the student and available time frame. It can be a detailed task for a month with speaking practice also. Teacher can modify the method of teaching and duration for the effectiveness of teaching. The teaching materials can also be designed according to the need of the student.

6. Conclusion

Teaching basic grammar of English Language in 15 days becomes a challenging task for the teacher. If it is not achieved, the coming days of teaching learning becomes hard for the student as well as for the teacher. Concentrating and doing homework on English for the most of the time will reduce the time of learning major subjects. Language learning in a short time is a hard work. Students should understand this task and ready to learn extra hours will only make this task successful. Student with Part time job will not have time to do the homework and special classes. Then, the student has to be helped in the regular classes providing enough time for the tasks. The research paper wants to conclude the research by inviting further research in the same topic from various regional background teachers with different perspectives and teaching methodologies from their experience.

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Topics as Entities: evidence from clausal-topicalization in Meiteilon

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A B S T R A C T

The concept of *topics* in grammar (particularly, as an information structural component) has been widely observed in natural languages as what the grammatical unit is about. The objective of this paper is to make an inroad on the understanding of sentence topics more in the lines of nominal elements rather than being considered as verbal ones in the manner of Ross's (2004) nouniness hierarchy. Evidence is provided in the fact that topicalization takes place only with more *nouny* elements than verbal. Therefore, topicalization as an operation is expected to take place only with nominal elements i.e, arguments and noun-like elements like non-finite clauses but, never with a purely verbal element like a that-clause (i.e, finite clauses). This paper showcases instances of such fronting i.e, topicalization in Meiteilon to uphold the observations made in English.

1. Introduction

Reinhart (1981) defines the topic of a sentence as "the expression whose referent the sentence is about". Information structure requirements seem to suggest the presence of a sentence topic in each and every sentence.

1. **[John]**$_{\text{Topic}}$ [ate an apple]$_{\text{Comment}}$
2. **[An apple]**$_{\text{Topic}}$, John ate <an apple> ---------------------- Object-Topicalization
3. **[Eat an apple]**$_{\text{Topic}}$, John did <eat an apple> -------------VP-Topicalization

Sentences (1) and (2) clearly show that a topic is an entity that is, a nominal element and not an activity or, proposition. Typically, it is the subject of a sentence which serves as a sentence topic as the sentence is usually *about* a subject. However, as and when a need arises to make the sentence about non-subjects i.e, the object or the predicate (VP), an overt movement of the constituent takes place which is termed as topicalization (given in (2) and (3) respectively). Note that in (3), the verb is in the bare form lacking finiteness morphology. This shows that English

NPs and VPs can be topicalized as lack of finiteness marking is the common element between them.

2. Topicalization in Meiteilon

One can consider a basic SOV sentence in Meiteilon (4′) in order to get into the details of how such a phenomenon on the about-ness of sentence topics works in the language. As sentences are usually about the subjects, it is the subject which works as the sentence topic. However, in Meiteilon, if and when a need arises to make the sentence about non-subjects (like the cases seen above in (2) and (3)), a contrastive topic marker *-ti/-di* is attached to the non-verbal constituent(s) which merits for in-situ contrastive topicalization[1].

4′. tombə yu toynə t^{h}ək-le
Tomba liquor often drink-Perf
'Tomba has often drunk liquor'

4″. tombə yu**-di** toynə t^{h}ək-le (Object-Topicalization)
Tomba liquor**-Top** often drink-Perf
'Tomba has often drunk liquor (but, no other drinks)'

4‴. tombə yu toynə**-di** t^{h}ək-le (Adverbial-Topicalization)
Tomba liquor often**-Top** drink-Perf
'Tomba has often drunk liquor (but, not daily)'

However, I argue that Meiteilon lacks VP-topicalization but, undergoes vP-topicalization instead resulting to verb doubling constructions (4).

4. **[$_{vP}$ tombə yu *t^{h}ək*]**-pə-*di* toynə *(*t^{h}ək*)-le (vP-topicalization)[2]
Tomba liquor drink-Nzr-Top often drink-Perf
'Tomba has often DRUNK liquor (but clause…)'

It is to be noted that (4) is derived from the base sentence given above in (4′). In order to determine the actual XP which undergoes such a *verbal* topicalization, let's reduce the elements one at a time and check their grammaticality.

4a. *[***t^{h}ək***]-pə-*di* tombə yu toynə *t^{h}ək*-le (V-topicalization)
drink-Nzr-Top Tomba liquor often drink-Perf

4b. ***[yu *t^{h}ək*]**-pə-*di* tombə toynə *t^{h}ək*-le (VP-topicalization)
liquor drink-Nzr-Top Tomba often drink-Perf

It is observed now that the other variants of fronting i.e, V-topicalization and VP-topicalization both results to ungrammatical constructions (4a and 4b). It is only the vP-topicalization which gives the grammatical construction for such a verbal fronting with an obligatory verb doubling

[1] It is observed in previous researches that, in Meiteilon, the wh-words in question constructions also remain in-situ (Chelliah 1997, Bhat and Ningomba 1997, Thangjam 2003).
[2] It results to obligatory verb doubling constructions in the language (Rajkumar 2021).

construction as a by-product. The vP in (4) therefore, comprises of the Subject, Object, and the non-Finite Verb; that is, the whole non-finite clause can be topicalized with ease as they all are presumed to have a (-)Fin feature. Thus, it is a case of clausal-topicalization. In other words, a topic has to be something which is less-verbal and more-nominal in the nouniness hierarchy[3] (Ross 2004). Hence, non-finite clauses (example For NP_{Subj} *to V*) are found to be more nouny than finite clauses (example *that-clauses*).

3. Viewpoint from verb doubling constructions

When one intends to make the sentence *about* the verb, we have seen that it can either undergo a VP-topicalization (in English) or, a vP-topicalization (in Meiteilon). However, the take home point for all types of topicalization is that, the topicalized XP has to be something which lacks finiteness. Moreover, Meiteilon shows that such vP-topicalization results to obligatory verb doubling constructions. Looking from this purview, it is all the more interesting to know that recent researches have noted that verb-doubling constructions take place only when the verb is topicalized (or focalized) (Koopman 1984, 2000; Abels 2001; Landau 2006; Vicente 2007; Aboh & Dyakonova 2009; Trinh 2011; Rajkumar 2018, 2021). So, the verb in order to get itself topicalized, it must get more *nouny* because a topic has to be something which is more like an *entity* rather than being an action or, a proposition. Crucially, I think, this explains why it has been observed in a number of other languages with verb doubling constructions that the topicalized (or, focalized) verb is usually found in its *infinitive* form (in languages such as Vata (Koopman 1984, 2000; Russian (Abels 2001); Hebrew (Landau 2006); Spanish and Hungarian (Vicente 2007); Gungbe (Aboh and Dyakonova 2009)). Therefore, the paper claims the requirement of entity-ness for something to be termed as a topic either through in-situ or, fronted constructions.

4. Conclusion

The paper has attempted to make an inroad on the understanding of sentence topics as nominal elements rather than verbal ones in the manner of Ross's (2004) nouniness hierarchy. Therefore, the fronting operation – to make a non-topic into a topic i.e, topicalization – is expected to take place only with nominal elements i.e, arguments and noun-like elements like non-finite clauses but, never with a purely verbal element like a that-clause (i.e, finite clauses). This paper using examples from English and Meiteilon has showcased instances of such a phenomenon to uphold the observations.

Abbreviations

Nzr - Nominalizer
Perf - Perfective
Top - Topic

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[3] Also termed as Nouniness Squish in Ross's (2004) own words which is as follows:
that(-clauses)>for(NPSubj) to V> Q > Acc lng> Poss lng> Action Nominal> Derived Nominal > Noun

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Classification of Speech Question Sentences in Chokri using Audio-Visual and Machine Learning Algorithms

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A B S T R A C T

Analyzing speech data to classify question-type (QC) sentences is a critical aspect with profound implications for natural language processing (NLP) and the enhancement of voice-activated systems, conversational agents, and search engines. While previous research has extensively explored text-based QC classification, audio-based methods remain underexplored. This study pioneers an innovative approach by leveraging audio features, specifically Mel-Frequency Cepstral Coefficients (MFCCs) both in (quantifiable) data and image formats, to classify 3 question types (viz., a) Wh-Questions; b) Polar Questions and c) Alternative Questions) in Chokri. Chokri is an endangered Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Nagaland, India. Five traditional machine learning algorithms (MLAs), including Decision Trees (DT), Random Forest (RF), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), and Gradient Boosting (XGB), along with Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN), are implemented to assess their performance in identifying speech-based QC in this language. The comparative analysis between traditional ML and deep learning methodologies consistently highlights the superior efficacy of CNN and RF, demonstrating remarkable robustness in QC classification with an exceptional F1-score of 99%, and 95%, respectively. This research not only broadens the horizons of QC but also sheds light on the efficacy of audio-based approaches in advancing the field of NLP.

1. Introduction

Various supervised and unsupervised machine learning (ML) algorithms are widely implemented across diverse research domains to draw classification, prediction, or forecasting [1]. Regardless of the research domain, this implementation requires assigning (a set of) "*features*," viz., measurable units serving as input for ML. These features can take diverse forms, including numeric values, categorical labels, binary indicators, text, and temporal data [2]. However, the choice of feature types is context-dependent and relies on the nature of the data and the research

objectives or problems. The selection of appropriate features is pivotal as it contains essential information impacting the ML model's generalization, adaptability, and predictive accuracy.

Various features are essential in speech data analysis using ML for several tasks, including phoneme recognition, voice classification, question type identification, music genre classification, or spotting similarities in sound patterns. These features include Zero-crossing rate (ZCR), signal energy, maximum amplitude, auto-correlation, fundamental frequency, formants, spectral centroid, spectral flux, spectral density, spectral roll-off, chroma features, Mel-frequency cepstral coefficients (MFCC), linear predictive coding (LPC), to name a few [3]. A combination of these features is likely to enhance overall ML performance. It can serve as input for traditional MLs, such as Decision Trees (DT), Random Forest (RF), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), etc. [3]. Recent advancements include incorporating features derived from visuals or images providing flexibility in addressing diverse audio analysis challenges. For instance, an audio waveform can be transformed into a spectrogram, and a convolutional neural network (CNN) can be applied. Alternatively, spectral centroid, roll-off, chroma, MFCC, etc., can be converted into a visual input from audio data within a neural network (NN) framework [3]. This NN can take various forms, including convolutional, recurrent, or other architectures tailored to the problem.

A critical aspect of speech data analysis includes classifying question-type (QC) sentences. Understanding the complexity of QC is vital for the advancements in natural language processing (NLP), which contributes to a better understanding of the complexities of human language [4]. It also has practical insinuations for enhancing the functionality of voice-activated systems, conversational agents, and different search engines. Predicting question types assists in refining search queries, leading to more accurate and relevant results, i.e., determining the correct type of answer expected for a given query. However, the first task is to classify the different types of questions.

QC commonly employs handcrafted rules based on hierarchy, keyword matching, and text patterns from a Part-of-Speech (POS) tagged speech corpus. Many classification studies predominantly adopt individual approaches [5-9] or a multi-layered architecture [10-11]. The kind of QC analysis examines lexical, syntactic, and semantic features [12-14]. In the lexical domain, considerations include Bag-of-words (BOW) representing word frequencies and wh-words indicating question sense. Syntactic features include the structural aspects of a question, encompassing POS tags for word classification [15]. On the other hand, semantic features revolve around the association with specific question classifications, providing a comprehensive understanding of the diverse linguistic elements contributing to effective QC. Notably, most studies highlight SVM as the primary ML technique, with BOW as the predominant method for feature extraction in QC [11]. A recent study investigated QC using a Thai sentence dataset where NB, SVM, and CNN were used based on the POS category [16].

While extensive text-based research has focused on QC, audio-based methods remain relatively unexplored. Our innovative approach introduces the classification of question types utilizing audio features, specifically MFCCs, presented in both visual and data formats. These coefficients, derived from audio signals, capture speech frequency characteristics, offering valuable insights into the underlying linguistic patterns pertaining to speech question sentence classification. The three main types of questions considered in this paper include a) Wh-Questions (Information Questions, denoted by a wh word), which start with wh-words (who,

what, where, when, why, which, how) and seek information; b) Polar Questions (Yes/No Questions, denoted by *polar*) where, it is designed to elicit a yes or no response, and c) Alternative Questions (denoted by *alt*), where these questions present options, and the respondent chooses one of the given alternatives. Traditional ML techniques such as Decision Trees (DT), Random Forest (RF), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), and Gradient Boosting (XGB), have been employed using the MFCC features as acoustic data for QC. Furthermore, our study directly applies CNN to MFCC images, aiming to exploit spatial relationships within audio features. This paper comprehensively explores the methodologies employed, comparing the effectiveness of traditional ML and deep learning in QC using visual and acoustic features. The proposed methodology, consisting of the pre-processing and processing techniques for data evaluation, is depicted in Figure 1.
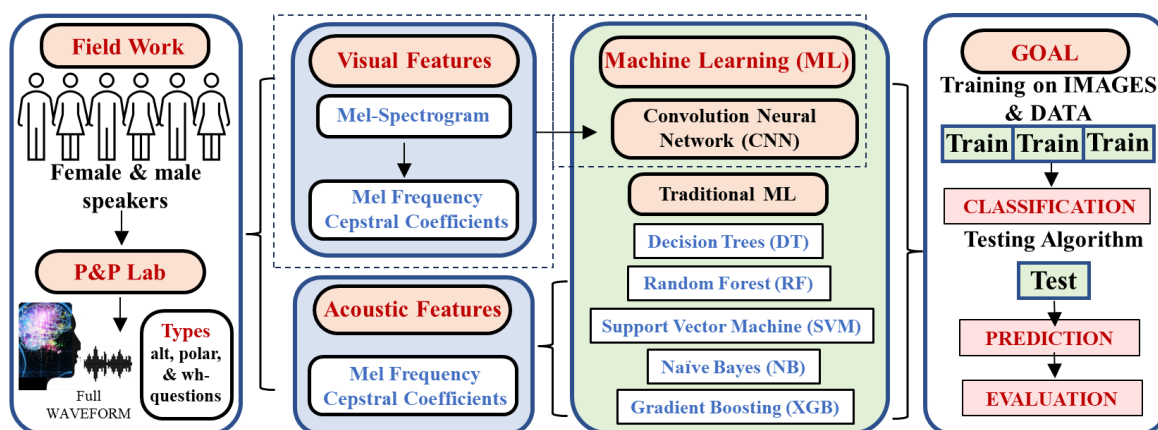
Figure 1: Flowchart for classifying different question types (alternative, polar, and wh): The entire sentence's audio waveform serves as input for extracting visual and acoustic features in the form of Mel-Frequency Cepstral Coefficients (MFCCs). These MFCCs are obtained both in the form of images and data from the spectrogram. Convolutional Neural Network (CNN) is employed for classifying question types using MFCC-based images. In contrast, traditional machine learning (ML) algorithms [Decision Trees (DT), Random Forest (RF), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), and Gradient Boosting (XGB)] are applied to the MFCC-based data.

2. Description of the language Chokri

Chokri (ISO 639-3: nri) is classified as a Tibeto-Burman language, predominantly spoken by the Chakhesang community in the Phek district of Nagaland, India. It is one of the primary languages within the Chokri subgroup of the 'Chakhesang' tribe, formerly known as the 'Eastern Angamis.' According to the *2011 Census Reports of India*, approximately 111,062 individuals use Chokri as their first language. In terms of UNESCO's language endangerment status, Chokri belongs to the 'vulnerable' category of endangered languages.

The present work is based on the variety spoken in Thipuzu village, about 92 km from the district headquarters of Phek. Despite its rich socio-cultural and linguistic significance, there has been limited exploration of the linguistic properties of Chokri. A previous study (on the *Phek dialect*) reported the presence of 39 consonants and six vowels in Chokri [17]. However, our investigation reveals a segmental phoneme inventory consisting of 33 consonants and 7 vowels. Chokri is highly rich in tonal phonemes; all syllables feature tonal specifications. The language

encompasses five lexical tones, including four level tones (viz., extra high [EH], high [H], mid [M], and low [L]) and one contour tone (mid-rising [MR]) [18]. In a recent study, Gogoi et al. [19] documented the presence of declination and automatic downstepping in this language. Final lowering, generally presumed to be a feature of declarative utterances in most languages, is observed to be present in Chokri exclusively in all mid-tone sequences.

3. Experimental Methods

3.1 Participants, datasets, and data recording

Speech data were recorded from five native Chokri speakers, comprising three males and two females aged between 18 and 55. All the participants are residents of Thipuzu village in Phek District of Nagaland, India, and speak the same Chokri variety. None of the participants exhibited any speech or hearing impairments.

The dataset employed in this study consisted of scripted utterances focusing on three types of interrogatives. The dataset's design aligns with our primary objective, i.e., automatic classification of different types of question utterances in the language. As mentioned above, three specific question types were considered: polar questions, wh-questions, and alternative questions. These were constructed in consultation with the native speakers to preserve natural speech features. Examples of each type are provided below:

A. **Polar or Yes/No Questions** (total 11 questions): Questions that elicit 'yes' or 'no' responses. In Chokri, the obligatory utterance-final question particle /mē/ is used to form polar questions.

- ā-pō fɔ̋ tì jō mē?
  1GEN-father fish eat HAB QP
  'Does father eat fish?'

- n̄-mīcé tʰité mē?
  2GEN-uncle house do-PAST QP
  'Has uncle built a house?'

B. **Wh. Questions** (total ten questions): These questions aim to elicit information and are characterized by the presence of in-situ question words such as /dı̋pə̀/ 'what,' /dı̋cé/ 'where,' /dı̋tsə̋lá/ 'why,' /dı̋pə̀kə̄/ 'when,' /dı̋pə̀yū/ 'which,' etc.

- n̄-z̄kə̄ dı̋pə̀ có-vá
  2GEN-mother what cook-PROG
  'What is mother cooking?'

- tʰūmà tsə̀ dı̋cé vɔ́-zə́
  Man that where go-PROG
  'Where is the man going?'

C. **Alternative Questions** (total four questions): These questions present two alternative elements, and the addressee is required to choose one as the answer.

- n̄ɔ́ fɔ̋ n̄-nə́ mē thì

You fish you-like or meat
'Do you like fish or meat?'

- nɔ̄ hīché bá-tə́ mē cēlə̄vɔ́ tà
  You here sit-FUT or home go FUT
  'Will you stay here or go home?'

The participants were presented with the target utterances displayed on a computer screen and instructed to produce them naturally. Data were recorded using a Multi-Track Linear PCM Recorder (OLYMPUS, LS-100) and a SHURE unidirectional head-worn microphone (SM10). The recording process was personally supervised by the authors. Each speaker repeated each utterance six times; the five best tokens were selected for further analysis. Consequently, a total of 625 sentence tokens of different lengths (25 utterances * 5 speakers * 5 repetitions) were considered in this study. The recordings were digitized at a sampling frequency of 44.1 kHz and 32-bit resolution. Following the recording, digital files were transferred for subsequent analysis. Each utterance was meticulously segmented and saved as individual files. The segmentation and annotation processes at both the sentence and syllable levels were conducted using PRAAT [20], a tool widely employed for speech analysis and annotation. This comprehensive approach ensures a detailed examination of the speech data.

3.2 Implementation of machine learning

The machine learning implementation in this study utilized the Python library *librosa* (version 0.10.0). The *librosa.feature.melspectrogram()* function was integrated to generate the Mel-spectrogram, and the function *librosa.feature.mfcc()* was employed to produce 40-dimensional MFCCs for each audio file, both as images and (quantifiable) data formats. These features were generated for each question type (alt, polar, and wh). The data were then split into 80:20 ratio, where 80% of the data were used for training machine learning models and the rest 20% were used for testing or validating purposes.

Traditional machine learning models, including Decision Trees (DT), Random Forests (RF), Support Vector Machines (SVM), Naive Bayes (NB), and XGBoost (XGB), were implemented using the *Scikit-Learn* library. The RF and XGB classifiers were implemented using *RandomForestClassifier*, and *GradientBoostingClassifier* from the *sklearn.ensemble module*, respectively. *DecisionTreeClassifier* was imported from *sklearn.tree* for DT. We used the *SVC()* from *sklearn.svm* for SVM, and *GaussianNB()* from *sklearn.naive_bayes* for NB. The other importing libraries, such as *NumPy, Pandas, and Matplotlib*, were also used for data pre-processing, sorting, and plotting the evaluation metrics of these MLs.

For the Convolutional Neural Network (CNN) model, a sequential model with three 2D convolutional (*conv*) layers was constructed to convolve the embedding vector with a *kernel size* of 32, 64, and 128 output filters. Following that, a *ReLU* activation function and *MaxPooling* with a pool size of 2 for each layer were added. *BatchNormalization* and *Flatten* layer were added before a *Dense* layer with 256 neurons. Finally, an output *Dense* layer consisting 3 neurons with *Softmax* classification was added to predict the possible question class as output. A dropout layer with a rate of 0.5 was applied to prevent overfitting. The model was trained for 100

epochs using *Adam* optimizer with a learning rate of 0.001 and batch size of 16. The loss is computed using *categorical_crossentropy.*

Figure 2: Training and validation analysis for Convolutional Neural Network (CNN)- the left panel displays the loss trends, and the right panel illustrates the accuracy variations. Decreasing validation loss and increasing accuracy indicate effective generalization and learning.

The Training and Validation, Loss, and Training and Validation Accuracy are crucial indicators for understanding CNN's learning efficacy and performance on unseen validation data. Figure 2 visually illustrates these metrics, with the left panel depicting the dynamic changes in loss throughout training and validation. In contrast, the right panel showcases the progression towards achieving the highest accuracy. A decreasing validation loss and convergence signify effective generalization, indicating the model's ability to learn without overfitting or underfitting. Additionally, the simultaneous increase in training and validation accuracy further demonstrates the robustness and reliability of CNN's learning process.

The *confusion_matrix* from *sklearn.metrics* was employed, and the matrix values are normalized and presented as a color map from 0 to 1. The *roc_curve*, *auc*, and *roc_auc_score* were employed from the *sklearn.metrics* to quantify the Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curves and Area Under the Curve (AUC) values.

The performance evaluation metrics utilized include accuracy (A), precision (P), recall (R), and $F1$-Score ($F1$). These are defined in the equations (1) to (4). Accuracy gauges the classifier's ability to categorize data into classes correctly. At the same time, precision quantifies the ratio of correctly classified data to a class concerning the total number of data used for testing. Recall measures the ratio of correctly classified data concerning the total number of data classified into the class. $F1$-score provides a balanced assessment by computing a combination of both precision and Recall. The *accuracy_score*and *classification_report*are used from *sklearn.metrics* to quantify A, P, R, and F1.

$$A = \frac{TP + TN}{TP + TN + FP + FN} \text{-------- (1)}$$

$$P = \frac{TP}{TP + FP} \quad \text{-------- (2)}$$

$$R = \frac{TP}{TP + FN} \quad \text{-------- (3)}$$

$$F1 = \frac{2P \times R}{P + R} \quad \text{-------- (4)}$$

The TP depicted in the equations above represents true-positive, indicating the number of positive samples predicted correctly; TN represents true-negative, denoting the number of negative samples predicted correctly; FP represents false-positive, indicating the number of negative samples mispredicted as positive; and FN represents false-negative, indicating the number of positive samples mispredicted as negative.

Cross-validation is also used to evaluate ML's performance. Its capability lies in effectively dividing training and testing data, which is essential for checking whether the ML is over- or under-fitting on the test data. Data resampling allows cross-validation and allocates one part for model validation and the remainder for classifier training. The dataset was divided into training and test data using a cross-validation approach with a value of k = 10 in Python. The box plots showing the k-fold and the accuracy are computed from *sklearn.model_selection* byimporting*KFold*, and *cross_val_score*.

4. Results and Discussions
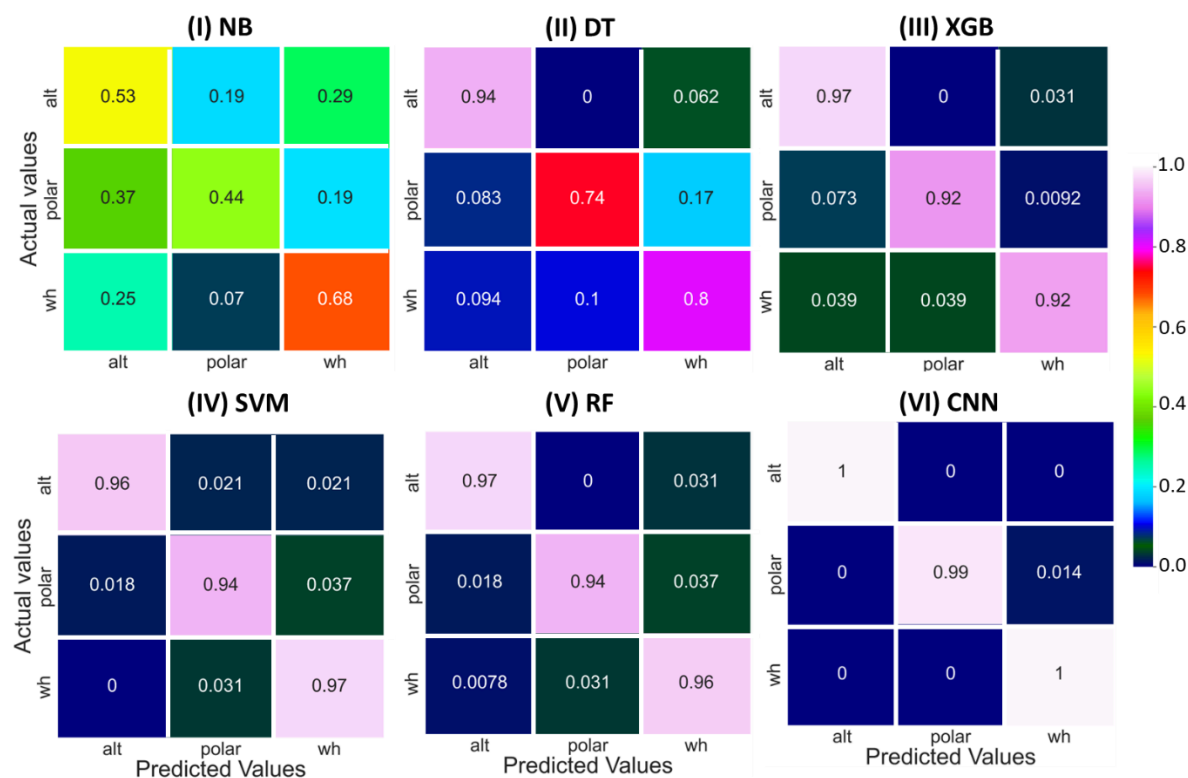
Figure 3: Comparison of MLAs' performance based on the normalized confusion matrix (CM): Naïve Bayes (NB) in (I), Decision Trees(DT) in (II), Gradient Boosting (XGB) in (III), and Support Vector Machine (SVM) in (IV) Random Forest (RF) in (V) and Convolutional Neural Network (CNN) in (VI). The three question types (classes) include alt (denoting the alternative questions), polar (representing the questions with options), and wh (signifying the questions containing wh words).

Figure 3(I-VI) presents normalized confusion matrices (CM) that offer a comprehensive comparison of the performance of different traditional MLA approaches (Decision Trees (DT), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), Gradient Boosting (XGB), and Random Forest (RF)) when using MFCCs as data. Additionally, the CM includes the Convolutional Neural Network (CNN) approach, employing MFCCs in the form of images. This visual representation provides insights into the classification accuracy and potential misclassifications of various MLA models across different classes (viz., three question types, including alt, polar, and wh).

The CM for NB reveals that the performance for QC ranges from ~44% to ~70% accuracy. Notably, 50% of alt questions were correctly classified, with 30% misclassified as wh questions and 20% as polar questions. The scenario remains similar for polar questions, with only about ~45% effectively classified, resulting in 35% misclassifications as alt questions and ~20% as wh questions. However, NB accurately predicts 70% of wh questions, but 25% are confused with alt questions [see Figure 3(I)].

Examining the performance of DT, it becomes evident that the accuracy for effectively classifying alt, polar, and wh questions ranges from 70% to 90%. Specifically, alt and wh questions demonstrate high accuracy rates of 94% and 85%, respectively. However, polar

questions exhibit an accuracy of 74%, with a tendency to be frequently confused with wh questions [see Figure 3(II)]. Conversely, a comparative analysis of the performance trends for XGB, SVM, and RF [see Figure 3(III-V)] reveals a consistent pattern, with accuracy ranging from 92% to 97%. Notably, these three MLs showcase minimal misclassification, with values only falling between approximately 3% and 8%.

The CM analysis indicates that CNN surpasses traditional MLAs in performance. Specifically, combining visual MFCCs with CNN proves to be the most effective, achieving a classification rate of 100% for alt and wh questions without misclassifications. Additionally, polar questions exhibit a high accuracy of 99% in this approach [see Figure 3(VI)]. This suggests that the utilization of visual MFCCs with CNN yields superior results in QC.
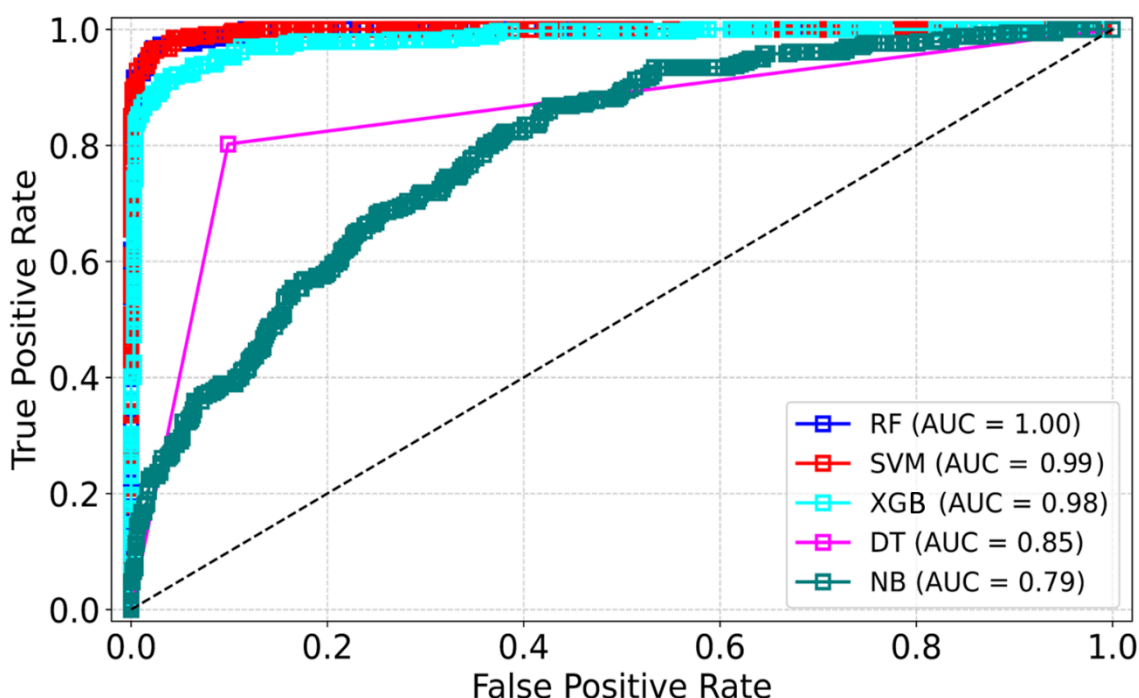
Figure 4: The Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curves depict the performance of several traditional machine learning models when utilizing Mel-frequency cepstral coefficients (MFCCs) as acoustic data features: Decision Trees (DT), Random Forest (RF), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), and Gradient Boosting (XGB).

Figure 4 presents Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curves for a comparative analysis of various traditional MLs. These curves depict the trade-off between Sensitivity (true positive rate) and 1-Specificity (false positive rate) across different classification thresholds. In an ideal scenario, where an ML achieves perfect class distinction, the ROC curve would align with the upper left corner, indicating a 100% true positive rate and 0% false positive rate (coordinates of (0, 1) in ROC space). The changing classification threshold influences the true positive and false positive rate values, generating a curve visually illustrating the ML's performance.

Each distinct curve in the ROC space (Sensitivity vs. 1-Specificity), represented by varying colors, reflects the performance of different traditional ML models such as Decision Trees (DT), Random Forest (RF), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), and Gradient Boosting (XGB). These curves provide visual insights into the ML's accuracy in classifying different question types. Additionally, the quantified Area Under the Curve (AUC) values offer a numerical measure of the ML's performance, with higher AUC values indicating superior classification capabilities.

The ROC curve reveals significant deviations for DT and SVM, suggesting a poor performance as classifiers for the QC task. On the other hand, understanding the variation in RF, SVM, and XGB performance is challenging, as the curve patterns are less clear. To comprehensively assess their behavior in QC, further analysis, particularly focusing on AUC values, is necessary. The hierarchy of performance based on AUC values reveals the following order: RF with an AUC of 1.00 exhibits the highest performance, followed by SVM with an AUC of 0.99, XGB with an AUC of 0.98, DT with an AUC of 0.85, and NB with an AUC of 0.79 [see Figure 4]. These AUC values provide a quantitative measure of these MLs' ability to classify different question types, demonstrating the superiority of RF and SVM in this context. The combined analysis of CM and ROC reveals that NB and DT exhibit poor performance in the context of QC. On the contrary, the remaining traditional MLs, namely RF, SVM, and XGB, demonstrate significantly better performance [see Figures 3(I-V) and 4].
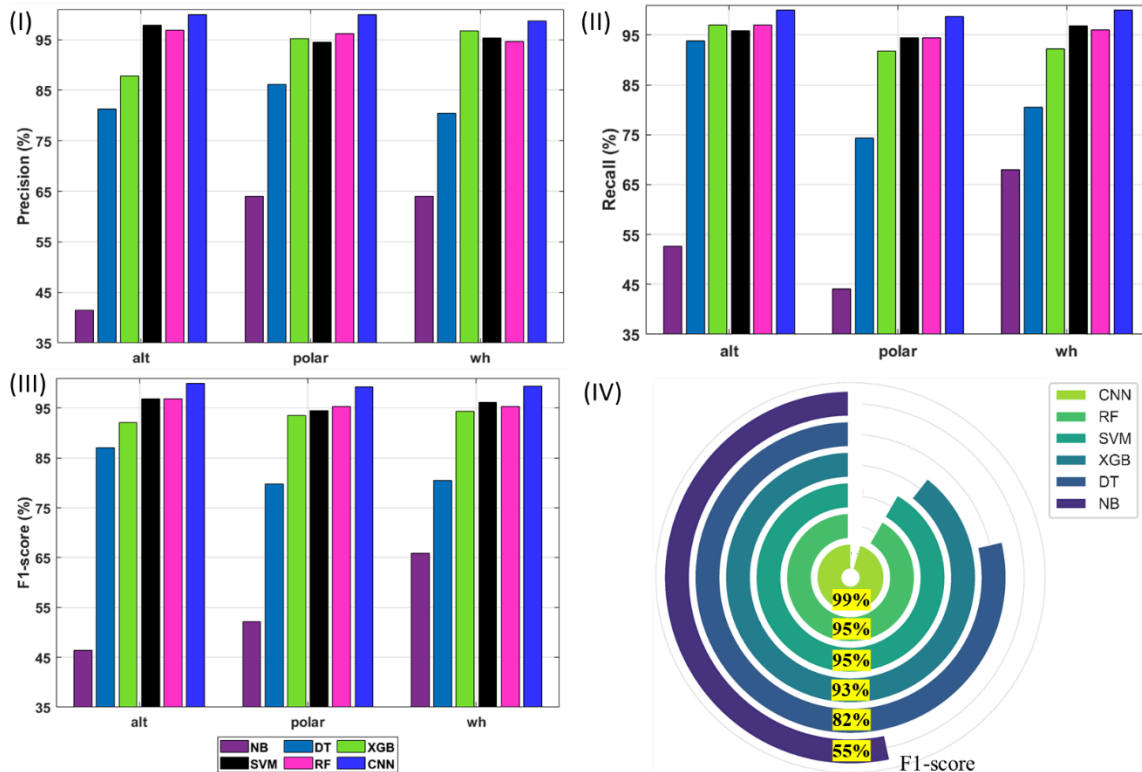
Figure 5: Performance of different MLAs is compared based on the(I) Precision, (II) Recall, and (III) F1-score. The average F1-score comparing all MLs as a radial plot is displayed in (IV).

In Figure 5(I-III), we compare the performance of different MLAs based on Precision, Recall, and F1-score. NB exhibits moderate Recall for alternative questions (~52%), low Recall for polar questions (44%), and relatively high Recall for wh questions (~67%). Precision values indicate lower accuracy for alternative questions (~41%) and higher accuracy for polar and wh questions (~64%). F1-scores reflect balanced performance, with moderate scores for alternative (~46%) and polar (~52%) questions and a higher score for wh questions (~65%).

In contrast, DT achieves high Recall for alt questions (93%) but lower for polar (~74%) and wh questions (~80%). Precision values of DT demonstrate high accuracy for alt and polar (81-86%) questions and slightly lower accuracy for wh questions (~80%). The F1-scores reveal overall solid performance, especially for alt (~87%) and lower for polar and wh questions (~80%).

The XGB shows high Recall across all question types, i.e., alt (~96%), polar (~91%), and wh (~92%). However, Precision values highlight lower accuracy for alt (~87%) but higher values for polar and wh (~95%) questions. The F1-scores demonstrate overall solid performance, with high accuracy for all question types (92-94%). SVM achieves high Recall, precision, and F1-scores for all alt, polar, and wh questions—Recall (94-96%), Precision (94-97%), and F1-scores (94-96%). Similarly, RF demonstrates high Precision and F1-scores for all alt, polar, and wh questions with 94-96%.

In contrast to all traditional MLAs, CNN achieves perfect Recall for alternative and wh (100%) and high Recall for polar questions (~98%). The Recall and Precision are found to be in similar ranges. The F1 scores indicate exceptional overall performance, with perfect scores for alternative questions (100%) and a high score for polar and wh questions (~99%).

This suggests that CNN consistently outperforms other MLAs across all metrics, showcasing its robustness in question-type classification. On the other hand, traditional MLs, especially SVM, RF, and XGB, demonstrate strong performance with Recall, Precision, and F1-scores. This analysis also supports the conclusions derived from the misclassification patterns observed in the CM analysis and the ROC analysis, collectively suggesting the superior efficacy of RF, SVM, and XGB compared to NB and DT in the task of QC.

However, NB and DT exhibit varying performance, with higher Recall and Precision for some question types and lower AUC-ROC and CM accuracy values. This discrepancy between the diagonal elements of the normalized CM [Figure 3(I-V)], the AUC-ROC curve (Figure 4), and other metrics shown in Figure 5(I-III) may arise since these metrics are calculated based on different concepts. Precision is concerned with false positives, recall with false negatives, and F1-score is a balance between the two. Conversely, the ROC-AUC considers the trade-off between a true positive rate and a false positive rate. Therefore, a consistent alignment of results across these metrics should not be expected, as they capture distinct aspects of ML performance. This emphasizes the importance of considering multiple evaluation metrics to comprehensively understand MLA's effectiveness in different dimensions.

The averageF1-scores in Figure 5(IV) exhibit the hierarchy in the performance of different MLs—NB (~55%) < DT (~82%) < XGB (~93%) < SVM (~95%) = RF (~95%) < CNN (99%). The F1 scores underscore the efficacy of all MLs in distinguishing the three types of questions utilizing the MFCC features. The XGB, SVM, and RF (under traditional, where MFCCs are used as acoustic data) and CNN (deep learning, where MFCCs are used as images)

stand out with an average F1-score exceeding 90%. This further illustrates the effectiveness of our proposed methodology, where the audio of full waveform (entire sentences) and implementation of two types of ML approaches (based on visual and acoustic data) are used in QC tasks.

Nevertheless, a crucial question persists: Do all metrics— CM, AUC-ROC, Precision, Recall, and F1-score—equally signify the effectiveness of MLs for QC tasks? Evaluating which ML excels in QC requires a comprehensive analysis. It is apparent that XGB demonstrates slightly lower performance compared to SVM and RF. The accuracy values for XGB range between 92% and 97%, along with an AUC of 0.98 and an average F1-score of 93%.
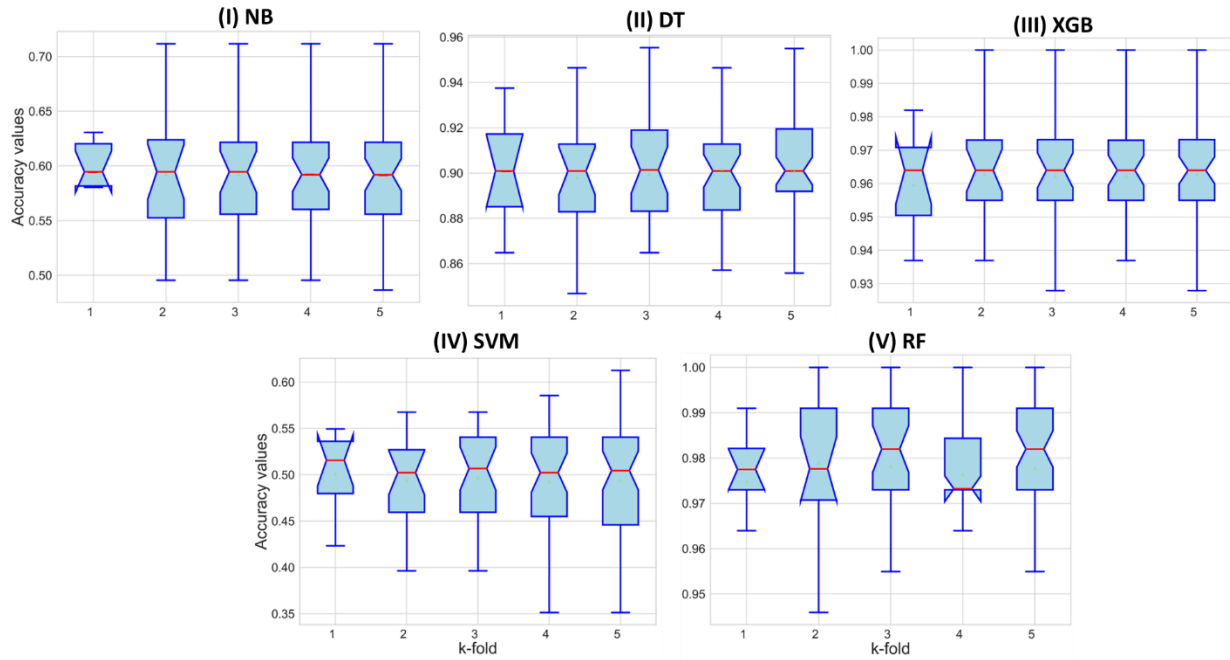
Figure 6: Bar plots for the k-fold cross-validation as a function of the number of folds (k = 5): Naïve Bayes (NB) in (I), Decision Trees (DT) in (II), Gradient Boosting (XGB) in (III), and Support Vector Machine (SVM) in (IV), and Random Forest (RF) in (V).

Figure 6(I-V) showcases k-fold cross-validation results for all traditional MLs, adding an extra layer of reliability to the performance assessment. The cross-validation outcomes reveal that all MLs maintain similar performance trends, with minor variations in accuracy scores compared to the other metrics displayed in Figures 3-5. Notably, SVM outperforms CM, ROC, Recall, Precision, and F1-score analyses, indicating an accuracy above 90%. However, the k-fold cross-validation presents a lower range, spanning from 35% to 60% accuracy for SVM. This discrepancy might be attributed to variations in the dataset's distribution and the nature of the cross-validation process. Thus, RF stands out as the top performer among the traditional MLAs, showcasing excellent performance across all metrics. With an accuracy nearing 99%, it is found to be a robust candidate for effectively classifying different question types in QC tasks.

5. Conclusions

This paper diverges from conventional text-centric approaches that have historically dominated the field by examining audio-based methodologies. We classify various question types by introducing audio features, particularly Mel-Frequency Cepstral Coefficients (MFCCs), in both visual and (quantifiable) data formats. The primary question types include Wh-Questions (wh), Polar Questions (polar), and Alternative Questions (alt). Implementing traditional machine learning (ML) techniques such as Decision Trees (DT), Random Forest (RF), Support Vector Machine (SVM), Naïve Bayes (NB), and Gradient Boosting (XGB), with MFCC features, this study thoroughly evaluates the performance of each MLA.

Additionally, this study introduces a direct application of Convolutional Neural Networks (CNN) to MFCC images. The comprehensive comparison between traditional ML and deep learning methodologies underscores the consistent superiority of CNN, exhibiting remarkable robustness in question-type classification with an outstanding F1-score of 99%. Noteworthy in traditional MLs, Random Forest stands out, achieving an F1-score of 95%. This research not only broadens the horizons of question classification but also sheds light on the efficacy of audio-based approaches in advancing the field of natural language processing.

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A Description of Bengali Equivalents of English Sentences with 'be' and 'have' as the Main Verbs in the Present Tense: Teaching such Sentences to Non-native Learners who know English

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A B S T R A C T

This paper aims to show how English sentences with the 'be' and 'have' as the main verbs in the present tense are expressed in various ways in Bengali and how these sentences can be presented to non-native Bengali language learners who know English. The paper would also try to list the possible mistakes that non-native learners are expected to commit and it would also suggest some corrective measures to help those non-native language learners. The most effective corrective measure would be to produce appropriate language teaching materials like video clips, audio clips, powerpoint presentations, printed texts, and conversations.

1. Introduction

Teaching Bengali to non-native learners generally begins with the teaching of sentences which do not require any verb at the surface level. It is easy to begin with such sentences without entering the rather complex issues of verb morphology. This is followed by the teaching of sentences which require a specific verb which is equivalent to the 'be' verb in English. These sentences are generally easy to learn, but non-native learners may often become confused and may mix up these two types of sentences and produce grammatically incorrect sentences. This paper would point out the mistakes that the learners may commit and suggest how to present these matters to them using teaching materials meticulously prepared for this particular purpose.

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A Note on abbreviations and symbols:

3 = third person	LOC= locative
DEF= definite	N-HON= non honorific
GEN= genitive	NEG= negative
HON=honorific	Q= interrogative particle/ marker

2. Research objective

To teach the above-mentioned sentences of Bengali to non-native learners who know English it is necessary to discuss English sentences with ‘be’ and ‘have’ as the main verbs in the present tense. Hence, this paper concentrates on the sentences with these two verbs in the present tense. The main questions raised are: Is it possible to make a list of various types of sentences with the ‘be’ and ‘have’ as the main verbs in the present tense in English? Is it possible to present some formulas regarding how such sentences can be expressed in Bengali? The answers to mainly these two questions are searched and discussed in this paper.

3. Theoretical background

Sentences with the verb ‘be’ and the verb ‘have’ as the main verbs in English in the present tense have been described in detail by many grammarians. Similarly, Bengali sentences have also been described in detail by many scholars. This paper mainly attempts to bring the equivalent sentences from the two languages side by side and formulate some rules regarding how the sentences can be translated from English to Bengali and points out the probable mistakes that can be committed by the non-native learners. It further suggests how language teaching materials can be prepared keeping all these factors in mind. Although the paper does not concentrate on the reverse process, that is, how the Bengali sentences can be translated into English, the discussions presented here can serve that purpose as well. The paper mainly follows the descriptions of Quirk (1985) for English and Bhattacharya (1994) and Bhattacharya (2010) for Bengali.

4. Research Methodology

The study is of empirical nature. Data is collected through the experience of teaching Bengali to non-native speakers who know English and teaching English to Bengali speakers. Data is also collected from books that are prepared by various scholars to teach Bengali to English-knowing people and through English grammar books.

5. Discussions

Quirk (1985) mentions three kinds of verbs in English: Full verbs, Primary verbs, and Modal auxiliaries. In this paper we mainly discuss the problems with two of the Primary verbs, that is, the ‘be’ verb and the verb ‘have’. Other kinds of verbs, including the third primary verb (which is the ‘do’ verb) mentioned by Quirk, are not considered here as it will not be possible to discuss them within the limited scope of a single article. Sentences with the ‘be’ verb as the main verb in the present tense in English are expressed through three types of sentences: General sentences, sentences with introductory ‘it’ and sentences with introductory ‘there’. All these three types of sentences and all the sentences with the verb ‘have’ as the main verb in the present tense, can have four different forms: Affirmative, Interrogative, Negative and Negative Interrogative sentences. Following subsections deal with all these types of sentences.

5.1 General Sentences

Affirmative sentences in English use the verb forms ‘am,’ ‘is’ and ‘are’ without any other verbs. These types of sentences in Bengali do not need any verb at the surface structure. The Bengali sentences and their English meanings are given below:

(1) *o tod͡ʒo.*
He Tojo
He is Tojo.
(2) *ora khub bɦalo*.
They very good.
They are very good.

When English-knowing people learn Bengali, they may initially find these types of sentences a little difficult as they are not familiar with verbless sentences. But this is not a major difficulty. They may be just advised to practice more. With learners who do not know English these sentences would not provide any difficulty at all.
All the above-mentioned sentences can be transformed to interrogative sentences just by adding a word *ki.* The word generally means 'what,' but in these types of sentences it is better to explain it as a question particle or a question marker.

Examples:
(3) *o tod͡ʒo ki?*
He Tojo Q
Is he Tojo?
(4) *ora kʰub bʱalo ki?*
They very good Q
Are they very good?

The question particle or question marker can also be inserted just after the first words.
Examples of negative sentences: Negative sentences with the 'be' verb, however, need a verb. The verb is *nɔ-* (it expresses negation in the present tense). The verb, like all other Bengali verbs, is conjugated according to the person and status of the subject.

(5) *o tod͡ʒo nɔ-e̯*.
He Tojo no-3N-HON
He is not Tojo.
However, some speakers do not use this verb. They use a negative particle *na* with all these negative sentences. Thus, they might simply say or write:

(6) *o tod͡ʒo na*.
He Tojo no
He is not Tojo.

The negative interrogative sentences have the negative verb/ the negative particle and the interrogative word *ki*.

(7) *o tod͡ʒo nɔ-e̯ ki*?
He Tojo no-3N-HON Q
Is he not Tojo?

After having described all the four types of general sentences with the ‘be’ verb, it is important to state how these sentences can be taught to non-native learners. Short prose texts and conversations must be written with *only* these types of sentences. Videos can be made based on these texts and conversations. Audio clips of the texts and conversations would also help. Many such passages must be given at regular intervals. Fill in the blanks from these passages must be given at regular intervals so that the students do not forget the rules. An example of a paragraph is given below. The sentences of the paragraphs are given separately as that will be convenient for presenting the language data:

(8) *mini ækʈa t͡ʃʰoʈo meye.*
Mini a little girl
Mini is a little girl.

(9) *mini-r bʱai̯-er nam babu.*
Mini-GEN brother-GEN name babu
Mini's brother's name is Babu.

(10) *mini ar babu skul-er poɽua.*
Mini and Babu school-GEN student
Mini and Babu are school students.

(11) *mini ar babu kʰub bʱalo.*
Mini and Babu very good
Mini and Babu are very good.

(12) *eʈa mini-r ar babu-r baɽi.*
This Mini-GEN and Babu-GEN house
This is Mini’s and Babu's house.

(13) *baɽi-ʈa kʰub bɔɽo.*
House-DEF very big
The house is very big.

(14) *oʈa baɽi-r bagan.*
That house-GEN Garden
That is the garden of the house.

(15) *bagan-ʈa kʰub bɔɽo.*
Garden-DEF very big
The garden is very big

All the sentences from the above paragraph are sentences without any verb at the surface level. No other kind of sentences has been used. One needs to be that meticulous while preparing the language teaching materials. The corresponding interrogative, negative and negative interrogative sentences can be done through exercises. Passages and conversations including all the types of sentences should also be given.

5.2 *Sentences with introductory 'it'*

There are some sentences with 'be' verbs which begin with an introductory 'it' in English. These sentences must be mentioned with special care. The 'It is…' part of the sentence is not needed in Bengali. The following sentence can be cited as an example:

(27) *aj* *k^hub* *t^hanḍa.*
Today very cold
It is very cold today.

The corresponding interrogative sentence will be:

(28) *aj* *k^hub* *t^hanḍa* *ki?*
Today very cold Q
Is it very cold today?

When English-knowing people learn Bengali, they may initially find these types of sentences a little difficult. They may be advised to ignore the 'It is…' part while translating.
The negative sentences are formed with the negative verb *nɔ-*.

(29) *aj* *k^hub* *t^hanḍa* *nɔ-e̯.*
Today very cold no-3N-HON
It is not very cold today.

An alternative option is the following:

(30) *aj* *k^hub* *t^hanḍa* *na.*
Today very cold not
It is not very cold today.

These sentences in Bengali are not different in structure from the sentences mentioned in 5.1. Therefore, it is not necessary to present an entire passage with these types of sentences.

5.3 Sentences with introductory 'there'

In English there are some sentences with 'be' verbs which begin with an introductory 'there' placed in the beginning of the sentence. These sentences must be mentioned with special care. These sentences need a verb in Bengali. The verb is *a͡tʃ^h-* (which means 'be'). The verb is conjugated according to the person and status of the subject. The 'There is' or the 'There are' parts of the sentences are not needed in Bengali. The following sentences can be cited as examples:

(16) *park-e* *ækṭa* *bagan* *a͡tʃ^h-e.*
Park-LOC a garden be-3N-HON
There is a garden in the park.

(17) *bagan-e duʈo pukur at͡ʃʰ-e.*
Garden-LOC two pond be-3N-HON
There are two ponds in the garden.

These sentences are not difficult for non-native learners as such. But the very existence of these kinds of sentences creates a problem for them. After knowing these kinds of sentences the language learners may start committing mistakes with the sentences mentioned in 5.1 or 5.2. They may say or write (1) as *o tod͡ʒo at͡ʃʰe.* This mistake is very common with non-native learners. Although they will be understood by people even if they say sentences like that, language instructors may not like to leave the matter there.

The corrective measures that can be taken is to present a lot of language learning materials with verbless sentences as well as sentences which have the various forms of the verb *at͡ʃʰ-* in them. If the learners are interested in grammar and linguistics the language instructor may clearly inform them that the verb *at͡ʃʰ-* is not necessary in those types of sentences where the corresponding English sentence simply has a 'be' verb. It is necessary only if there is an introductory 'there' in the corresponding English sentence. If some exceptions to this rule are found, such sentences may be mentioned as exceptional and listed separately.

The corresponding interrogative sentences can be obtained by adding *ki* as in the previous cases. Example:

(18) *park-e ækʈa bagan at͡ʃʰ-e ki?*
Park-LOC a garden be-3N-HON Q
Is there a garden in the park?

The negative sentences are a little different. These sentences demand a fixed negative verb form '*nei̯*.' Examples:

(19) *e park-e bagan nei̯.*
This park-LOC garden beNEG
There is no garden in this park.

(20) *ei̯ bagan-e pukur nei̯.*
This garden-LOC pond beNEG
There are no ponds in this garden.

These sentences also appear to be a little difficult for non-native learners. They often produce ungrammatical sentences like *bagane pukur at͡ʃʰe na* or *bagane pukur na at͡ʃʰe.*
The remedial measure that can be given is to present these ungrammatical sentences and ask the learners to correct the sentences. However, this practice is not supported by all language instructors. Many instructors feel showing the ungrammatical sentences to language learners can have disastrous effects as they may be more confused. Some of them might even start remembering these ungrammatical sentences. If this argument is accepted then the only way that remains is that short prose texts and conversations must be written with only these types of sentences.

Examples are given below:

(21) *mini-r baɽi-te ɔnek manuʃ at͡ʃʰ-en.*
Mini-GEN house-LOC many human beings be-3HON
There are many people in Mini's house.

(22) *mini-r baɽi-r ʃamne ækʈa bagan at͡ʃʰ-e.*
Mini-GEN house-GEN front a garden be-3N-HON
There is a garden in front of Mini's house.

(23) *o-r baɽi-te ɔnek ghɔr at͡ʃʰ-e*
She-GEN house-LOC many room be-3N-HON
There are many rooms in her house.

(24) *o-r baɽi-te ækʈa gaɽi at͡ʃʰ-e.*
She-GEN house-LOC a car be-3N-HON
There is a car in her house.

(25) *bagan-e ɔnek narkol* gat͡ʃʰ *at͡ʃʰ-e.*
Garden-LOC many coconut tree be-3N-HON
There are many coconut trees in the garden.

(26) *mini-r baɽi-te anondo ar ʃanti at͡ʃʰ-e.*
Mini-GEN house-LOC joy and peace be-3N-HON
There is joy and peace in Mini's home.

All the sentences from the above-mentioned paragraphs are sentences with the verb *at͡ʃʰ-* conjugated according to the subject. No other kind of sentences has been used. One needs to be that meticulous while preparing the language teaching materials. The corresponding interrogative, negative and negative interrogative sentences can be done through exercises. Passages and conversations including all these types of sentences should also be given. Such passages will be given at regular intervals as revisional exercises when students will move to learn other grammatical items. Otherwise, they will forget these sentences.

5.4 Sentences with the verb 'have' as the main verb
The Bengali equivalents of the English sentences with the primary verb 'have' as the main verb contains the word *at͡ʃʰ-* (which means 'be') in them and hence, those sentences appear to be very similar to the sentences mentioned in 5.3. But these sentences are slightly different and hence these sentences need some special attention. The Bengali equivalents of these sentences generally begin with the subjects marked with the genitive case markers *-r* (in the case of the singular subjects) and *-der* (in the case of the plural subjects). These sentences end with the verb *at͡ʃʰ-* conjugated according to the subject. The following sentences are examples:

(31) *mini-r ɔnek boi̯ at͡ʃʰ-e.*
Mini-GEN many book be-3N-HON
Mini has many books.

(32) *o-der ækʈa gaɽi at͡ʃʰ-e.*
They-GEN a car be-3N-HON
They have a car.

The corresponding interrogative sentences can be formed (as discussed in the previous cases) by adding the word *ki*. The negative sentences are formed (like the sentences discussed in 5.3) by adding the word *nei̯* and negative interrogative sentences have both *nei̯* as well as *ki*.
As it has been mentioned in the case of all other types of sentences, one needs to present paragraphs using only these types of sentences at regular intervals. Writing conversations based on those paragraphs will be extremely helpful and making audio clips and videos based on those conversations will also be extremely helpful.

Conclusion

After analyzing the English sentences with the verb 'be' in the present tense one can summarize that:
Such sentences are of three types: General sentences, sentences with introductory 'it' and sentences with introductory 'there'.
All these sentences can be further sub-classified into four types: affirmative, negative, interrogative, and negative interrogative sentences.
The Bengali equivalents of the general affirmative sentences and the affirmative sentences with introductory 'it', do not need any verb at the surface level. If some exceptions to this rule are found, such sentences may be mentioned as exceptional and listed separately.
Corresponding interrogative sentences are obtained just by adding the interrogative particle *ki*.
Corresponding negative sentences are obtained by adding the verb *nɔ-* conjugated according to the subject.
Corresponding negative interrogative sentences are obtained by adding the verb *nɔ-* conjugated according to the subject as well as by adding the particle *ki*.
The Bengali equivalents of the affirmative sentences with introductory 'there' and the affirmative sentences with 'have' as the main verb, need the verb *at͡ʃʰ-* conjugated according to the subject. If some exceptions to this rule are found, such sentences may be mentioned as exceptional and listed separately.
Corresponding interrogative sentences are obtained just by adding the particle *ki*.
The negative sentences are obtained by adding the word *nei̯.*
The negative interrogative sentences are obtained by adding the word *nei̯* as well as by adding the particle *ki*.

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ধনাত্মক ও ঋণাত্মক আন্তর্পঠতার নিরিখে নবনীতা দেবসেনের ছোটগল্প বিশ্লেষণ

পারমিতা দাস
যাদবপুর বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

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ABSTRACT

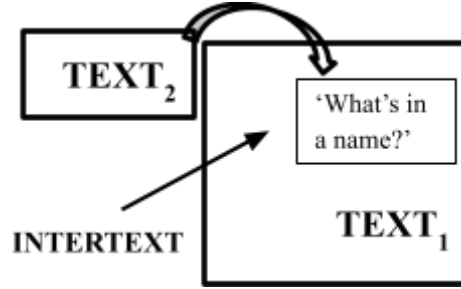
আন্তর্পঠতা (intertextuality) শৈলীবিজ্ঞানের (Stylistics) ধারায় একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়। বর্তমান গবেষণা নিবন্ধে এই আন্তর্পঠতার প্রচলিত প্রকারভেদ যেমন দেখানো হবে, তেমনি সেই সঙ্গে যুক্ত করা হবে আন্তর্পঠতা সংক্রান্ত কিছু নতুন ভাবনা, যা বর্তমান গবেষকের নিজস্ব প্রস্তাব। কোনও একটি পাঠে বা কাহিনিতে যখন আন্তর্পাঠ ব্যবহৃত হয়, তখন সেই কাহিনি এবং প্রযুক্ত আন্তর্পাঠের উৎস-কাহিনির প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক (contextual relation) নতুন প্রস্তাবিত ভাবনায় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মানদণ্ড হিসেবে কাজ করবে। এই নতুন পদ্ধতিটিই প্রয়োগ করা হবে সাহিত্যিক নবনীতা দেবসেনের ছোটগল্প বিশ্লেষণের ক্ষেত্রে। আন্তর্পঠতা দ্বারা একটি কাহিনির অর্থ যে কতখানি নিয়ন্ত্রিত হতে পারে এবং উপযুক্ত আন্তর্পাঠ ব্যবহারের ফলে পাঠকের কাছে সংশ্লিষ্ট কাহিনির গ্রহণযোগ্যতা কতখানি বেড়ে যেতে পারে, তা এই বিশ্লেষণের মাধ্যমে দেখা যাবে। সেই সঙ্গে নবনীতা দেবসেনের লিখনশৈলীর অন্যতম প্রধান বৈশিষ্ট্য সম্পর্কেও ধারণা পাওয়া যাবে।

১. ভূমিকা

Intertext, যাকে আমরা বাংলায় বলব আন্তর্পাঠ, তা প্রকৃতপক্ষে এমন একটি উচ্চারণ (utterance) বা পাঠকে (text) বোঝায়, যা অন্য কোনো উচ্চারণ বা পাঠের সঙ্গে সম্পর্কিত। এই শেষোক্ত উচ্চারণ বা পাঠটি সমসাময়িক কালের হতে পারে, আবার অনেক পুরনো কোনো পাঠ বা উচ্চারণও হতে পারে; তা হতে পারে কোনো সাহিত্যিক পাঠ কিংবা সাহিত্য ব্যতীত অন্য কোনো ধরনের পাঠ। বিষয়টি সহজভাবে ব্যাখ্যা করা যাক।

আমরা যখন কোনো একটি বিষয়ে মৌখিক আলোচনা করি বা বক্তৃতা দিই কিংবা গল্প-উপন্যাস-প্রবন্ধ-কবিতা ইত্যাদি সাহিত্য প্রকরণ রচনা করি, তখন সেই বলা বা লেখার মাঝে যদি আগে কথিত বা লিখিত কোনো পাঠের অংশ স্মরণ ক'রে উদ্ধৃত করি (উদ্ধৃতি-চিহ্ন ব্যবহার ক'রে বা না-ক'রে), তবে সেই উদ্ধৃত অংশকে বর্তমান পাঠের আন্তর্পাঠ বা intertext বলা হয়। আর এরকম

কথন বৈশিষ্ট্য বা লিখন বৈশিষ্ট্যের নাম আন্তর্পঠতা বা intertextuality। এক্ষেত্রে বক্তা বা লেখক আশা করেন যে তাঁর শ্রোতা বা পাঠকবৃন্দ আলোচ্য বিষয়ের সাথে উদ্ধৃতাংশের সংযোগ সাধন করতে পারবেন। একটি উদাহরণ দিয়ে বিষয়টি স্পষ্ট করা যাক –

ধরে নিই, অমিত এবং করবী কয়েকদিন হল একটা কুকুরছানা পুষেছে। কিন্তু তার নাম টম রাখা হবে নাকি ভুলু, তা নিয়ে দুজনের মধ্যে তর্ক শুরু হল। এরকম অবস্থায় করবী হঠাৎ বললো, 'What's in a name?'[১]। আমরা সকলেই জানি, এই কথাটি আসলে Shakespeare-এর Romeo and Juliet থেকে উদ্ধৃত, যেখানে বাক্যটির প্রাসঙ্গিক অর্থ, রোমিও'র নাম যাই হোক না কেন জুলিয়েট রোমিও'কেই ভালোবাসে। তাই উদাহরণটিতে করবীর উক্তিটি আপাতভাবে প্রশ্নসূচক মনে হলেও, আসলে তা ছদ্ম-প্রশ্ন। একথার উদ্দেশ্য এটা বলা যে, কুকুরছানার যে নামই রাখা হোক তাতে তার গুণাগুণ কিংবা তার প্রতি ভালোবাসা কিছুই বদলায় না। আর এই কথন প্রক্রিয়াটিই হল intertextuality (চিত্র ১ দ্রষ্টব্য)।

চিত্র ১: আন্তর্পঠতা (intertextuality)

এর ফলে মূল বিষয়টি যেমন আরও স্পষ্ট রূপ লাভ করে, তেমনি উদ্ধৃতির উৎস-পাঠের প্রসঙ্গের (context) সাথে বর্তমান পাঠের প্রসঙ্গের প্রতিতুলনা করে সহৃদয় পাঠক-শ্রোতা পরিতৃপ্তি লাভ করেন। এই প্রসঙ্গে বলা প্রয়োজন, কুম্ভীলক বৃত্তি (plagiarism) কখনোই intertextuality নয়। কারণ intertextuality হল পাঠের (text) অবিচ্ছেদ্য অঙ্গ; অন্যদিকে কুম্ভীলক বৃত্তি চৌর্যবৃত্তির নামান্তর।

গত শতাব্দীর আটের দশকে ফরাসী দার্শনিক Julia Kristeva 'Intertextuality' কথাটির সৃষ্টি করেন।[২] M. M. Bakhtin-এর তত্ত্বকে সম্মিলিত ও সম্প্রসারিত করেন তিনি। তাঁর মতে, কোনো text-ই প্রকৃতপক্ষে Intertextuality বর্জিত নয়। কিন্তু একথাও মনে রাখতে হবে যে যেসব লেখায় Intertextuality-র প্রতিপত্তি যথেষ্ট নজর-কাড়া, সেখানে এটি নিশ্চয়ই স্বতন্ত্র আলোচনার দাবি রাখে। নবনীতা দেবসেনের গল্পসাহিত্যও সেই পর্যায়ভুক্ত।

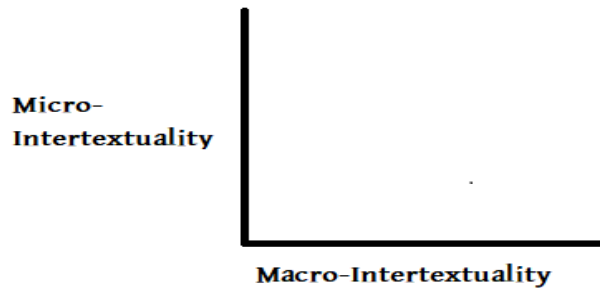
গত পাঁচ দশকেরও বেশি সময় জুড়ে বাংলা সাহিত্যে এক উজ্জ্বল নাম নবনীতা দেবসেন (১৯৩৮-২০১৯)। তাঁর লেখনীর একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বৈশিষ্ট্য হল আন্তর্পাঠের (intertext) ব্যবহার। Intertextuality তাঁর গল্প-উপন্যাসে একটা বড় জায়গা জুড়ে অবস্থান করে। বর্তমান নিবন্ধে নবনীতার 'সেদিন দুজনে' এবং 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' এই দুটি প্রতিনিধি স্থানীয় ছোটগল্পে intertextuality-র গতিপ্রকৃতি ব্যাখ্যা করা হয়েছে। আমরা এখানে দুটি বিষয়ের সন্ধান করবো–

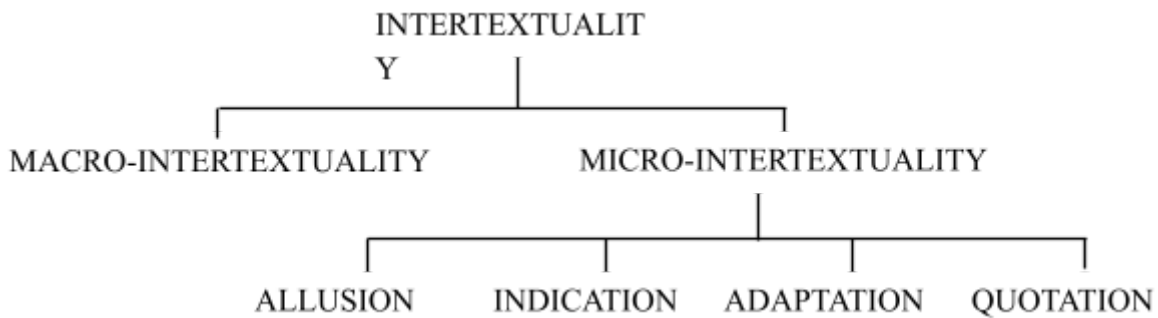
১) নবনীতা দেবসেনের গল্পে কী ধরনের intertextuality দেখা যায়?

২) Intertextuality সেইসব গল্পে কী জাতীয় প্রভাব সৃষ্টি করেছে?

২. গবেষণা পদ্ধতি

বর্তমান নিবন্ধে শৈলীবিজ্ঞানকে কাজে লাগিয়ে কথাশিল্পী নবনীতা দেবসেনের দুটি ছোটগল্পের বিশ্লেষণ করা হয়েছে, যেখানে ধাপে ধাপে নির্ণয় করা হয়েছে গল্পে ব্যবহৃত আন্তর্পাঠতার (intertextuality) প্রকৃতি। বিশ্লেষণের জন্য যে পদ্ধতি[৩] ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে, নিচে তার পরিচয় দেওয়া হল।

গল্প-উপন্যাস কিংবা যেকোনো রকমের text-এ দু'রকম intertextuality বিন্যস্ত থাকতে পারে - macro-intertextuality এবং micro-intertextuality। Text-এর সামগ্রিক গঠন ও অর্থের ওপর ক্রিয়াশীল macro-intertextuality। আর micro-intertextuality ধরা থাকে পাঠের আভ্যন্তরীণ স্তরে। পাঠের ভিতরকার ধ্বনি, রূপ, শব্দ, বাক্য স্তরে একে অনুভব করা যায়। পাঠে এদের পারস্পরিক বিন্যাস উলম্ব ও অনুভূমিক রেখায় চিত্রিত করা যায় (চিত্র ২ দ্রষ্টব্য)।

চিত্র ২: micro ও macro-intertextuality-র পারস্পরিক বিন্যাসগত রেখচিত্র

আবার, micro-intertextuality-র প্রকৃতি চার রকমের হতে পারে—Allusion, Adaptation, Indication এবং Quotation (চিত্র ৩ দ্রষ্টব্য)। এগুলি সম্পর্কে নিচে ধারণা দেওয়া হল।

চিত্র ৩: Intertextuality-র প্রকারভেদ

ক) ALLUSION: Allusion সৃষ্টির মাধ্যমে চরিত্র, স্থান, ঘটনা বা গল্প-উপন্যাসের অন্য কোনো বিষয়কে অন্য একটি text-এর চরিত্র, ঘটনা ইত্যাদির সাথে সরাসরি সংযোগ স্থাপন করা হয় না, কিন্তু

পরোক্ষে সেই অন্য text-এর চরিত্র, ঘটনা ইত্যাদির আবেশ সৃষ্টি করা হয়। Allusion হতে পারে ধনাত্মক বা ঋণাত্মকধর্মী। M. H. Abrams বলছেন,

> Most allusions serve to illustrate or expand upon or enhance a subject, but some are used in order to undercut it ironically by the discripancy between the subject and the allusion.[৪]

খ) INDICATION: সাহিত্য, বিজ্ঞান, দর্শন ইত্যাদি যেকোনো বিষয়ের text থেকে কোনো ধারণা গ্রহণ ক'রে তাকে বর্তমান text-এ ফুটিয়ে তুলে অন্য কোনো তাৎপর্যবাহী ধারণা বা অর্থের প্রতি দিক-নির্দেশ করা হয়।

গ) ADAPTATION: এই জাতীয় intertextuality অন্য কোনো সাহিত্যিক-পাঠ কিংবা শিল্প, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান, চলচ্চিত্র ইত্যাদির কোনো ধারণা বা বৈশিষ্ট্য সরাসরি গ্রহণ ক'রে বর্তমান text-এ ফুটিয়ে তোলে।

ঘ) QUOTATION: এই জাতীয় intertextuality-তে আগে রচিত কোনো text থেকে সরাসরি উদ্ধৃতি চিহ্ন ব্যবহার ক'রে বা না-ক'রে উদ্ধৃত করা হয়।

বর্তমান নিবন্ধে ওপরের মডেলটিতে দুটি নতুন ভাবনার সংযোগ করা হয়েছে। এগুলি নিম্নরূপ—

প্রথমত, মাইক্রো-ইন্টারটেক্সচুয়ালিটির মতোই ম্যাক্রো-ইন্টারটেক্সচুয়ালিটিও বিভিন্ন প্রকৃতির হতে পারে। অর্থাৎ, এক্ষেত্রেও অ্যালুশন, কোটেশন ইত্যাদি রকমভেদ দেখা যায়। এর নমুনা আমরা নবনীতা দেবসেনের সাহিত্য বিশ্লেষণ করতে গিয়েই দেখতে পাব।

দ্বিতীয়ত, ওপরের যেকোনো ধরনের intertextuality-ই ধনাত্মক বা ঋণাত্মকধর্মী হতে পারে। এই ধর্ম নির্ভর করে text ও intertext-এর প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্কের (contextual relation) ভিত্তিতে। আর প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক তৈরি হয় উভয় পাঠের সংশ্লিষ্ট অংশের সাদৃশ্য ও বৈসাদৃশ্যের ওপর। ম্যাক্রো-ইন্টারটেক্সচুয়ালিটি হোক কিংবা মাইক্রো-ইন্টারটেক্সচুয়ালিটি, দুটি পাঠের (T_1 এবং T_2) সংশ্লিষ্ট অংশের প্রাসঙ্গিক সাদৃশ্য থাকলে, প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক (contextual relation) হয় ধনাত্মক (positive)। ফলে আন্তর্পাঠতার (intertextuality) প্রকৃতিও হয় ধনাত্মক। আবার, যখন দেখা যায়, যে পাঠের উপাদান বর্তমান পাঠে ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে, অথচ উভয় পাঠের সংশ্লিষ্ট অংশের প্রসঙ্গের মধ্যে কোনও মিল নেই, তখন এদের প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক (contextual relation) হয় ঋণাত্মক (negative)। এর ফলে প্রাপ্ত আন্তর্পাঠতার (intertextuality) প্রকৃতিও হয় ঋণাত্মক। প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্কের ধাঁচটা চিনতে পারলেই পাঠের ব্যাখ্যা সম্পূর্ণ হয় ও সেইসঙ্গে লেখকের intertextuality-র পথ অবলম্বন করার উদ্দেশ্যও সফল হয়।

নতুন ভাবনা সম্বলিত গবেষণা পদ্ধতিটিই নবনীতা দেবসেনের সাহিত্যে intertextuality-র প্রকৃতি নির্ধারণে কাজে লাগানো হয়েছে।

৩. বিশ্লেষণ ও আলোচনা

৩.১ 'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পের আন্তর্পাঠতার প্রকৃতি বিশ্লেষণ

১৩৮৫ বঙ্গাব্দে অমৃত পত্রিকার শারদীয় সংখ্যায় প্রথম প্রকাশিত হয় নবনীতা দেবসেনের 'সেদিন দুজনে'। সদ্য বিবাহিত এক দম্পতির বিদেশের মাটিতে দিনযাপনের কিছু টুকরো ছবির সমাহার এই গল্প।

৩.১.১ 'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পে macro-intertextuality

নি:সন্দেহে বলা যায়, গল্পের নামটি পড়া কিংবা শোনা-মাত্র পাঠকের স্মরণে আসবে রবীন্দ্রনাথের গান, 'সেদিন দুজনে দুলেছিনু বনে, ফুলডোরে বাঁধা ঝুলনা'[৫]। দেখা যাবে, পুরো গানটিতে এককেটি ছবি ফুটে ওঠে এবং তা আসলে সুখস্মৃতির রোমন্থন। আর সেই বর্ণিত সুখ যে বর্তমানে অস্তমিত, দুজনের একান্ত নৈকট্য যে আর নেই, তা স্পষ্ট হয়, যখন বলা হয়-

> 'এখন আমার বেলা নাহি আর, বহিব একাকী বিরহের ভার—
> বাঁধিনু যে রাখী পরানে তোমার সে রাখী খুলো না, খুলো না।।'[৬]

'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পে একের পর এক সুখের মুহূর্ত গাঁথা হলেও আমাদের বুঝতে অসুবিধা হয় না যে গল্পের শিরোনামে intertextuality-র দ্বারা প্রচ্ছন্নে বিরহের সুর বাজে। পাঠক অনুভব করেন, ওই গানের পরিণতির মতোই হয়তো গল্পে বর্ণিত 'কত্তা-গিন্নি'র একত্র সুখ পরবর্তীকালে স্থায়ী হয়নি। আর তখনই নামকরণে 'সেদিন' শব্দের প্রয়োগ অন্য মাত্রা লাভ করে। তবে একথা অনস্বীকার্য, পাঠকের নিজস্ব পাঠ-অভিজ্ঞতার ওপর এজাতীয় ব্যাখ্যা নির্ভর করে। পাঠক যদি রবীন্দ্রনাথের গানটি না-শুনে থাকেন, তাহলে তিনি এই গল্পের গভীরতা অনুধাবনে কিছুটা অসফল হবেন। সেক্ষেত্রে যেহেতু গল্পে একটিও দু:খের মুহূর্ত চিত্রিত হয়নি এবং গল্পটি শেষ হয় দুজনের ('কত্তা' আর 'গিন্নি') পারস্পরিক নৈকট্যের গাঢ়তায়, তাই শিরোনামে প্রযুক্ত 'সেদিন' শব্দের দূরবিস্তৃত বিরহের ব্যঞ্জনা পাঠকের দৃষ্টি এড়িয়ে যাওয়া অসম্ভব নয়। তাই বলা যায়, *সেদিন দুজনে* গল্পের নামকরণে intertextuality প্রকৃতপক্ষে গোটা গল্পের শরীর জুড়ে সর্বজ্ঞ কথকের মনের ভাব প্রকাশের পরিবর্তে মনের প্রকৃত ভাব গোপন করার সহায়ক হয়েছে।

শিরোনামে আন্তর্পাঠের প্রয়োগ macro-intertextuality-র আওতাভুক্ত। গল্প এবং উল্লিখিত গানের context সমগোত্রীয় হওয়ায় এখানে **ধনাত্মক বা positive macro-intertextuality** দেখা গেল। আরও দেখা গেল যে এটি কোটেশন প্রকৃতির macro-intertextuality।

৩.১.২ 'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পে micro-intertextuality (ALLUSION)

'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পে 'enhance a subject'[৪] নয়, বরং 'discripancy between the subject and the allusion'[৪]-এর প্রবণতাই বেশি দেখা যায়। গল্পে গিন্নির মই বেয়ে তিনতলায় ওঠার দৃশ্য নি:সন্দেহে হাসির উদ্রেক করে –

> কত্তা ক্ষমা-প্রার্থনার ভঙ্গিতে হাসেন একটু। পরমুহূর্তেই পুনরায় ঊর্দ্ধমুখে, দুই কোমরে দুই হাত, গিন্নির সশরীরে স্বর্গারোহণের পুণ্যদৃশ্য ধ্যানস্থচিত্তে নিরীক্ষণ করেন।[৭]

মহাভারতের স্বর্গারোহণ পর্বে যুধিষ্ঠিরের সশরীরে স্বর্গারোহণ দৃশ্যের তুলনা স্মরণে আসা অনিবার্য। অথচ এদুয়ের context-এ কিছুমাত্র মিল নেই। আর এই অমিলই কার্যত হাস্যরস উৎপাদনে সহায়ক হয়েছে। এটি **ঋণাত্মক allusion**। এরূপ ঋণাত্মক allusion-এর নিদর্শন গল্পে আরও মেলে,

> ... ততক্ষণে তিনতলার জানলা দয়া করে দ্বিধা হয়েছেন এবং গিন্নিও তাতে প্রবেশ করে ফেলেছেন।[৮]

ধরণী দ্বিধা হলে সীতার পাতাল প্রবেশের বহুচর্চিত দৃশ্য পাঠকের নিশ্চয় মনে পড়ে। অথচ গল্পের context সম্পূর্ণ ভিন্ন।

ধনাত্মক allusion-এর উপস্থিতিও নবনীতার লেখায় বিরল নয়। অর্থাৎ, উপস্থাপ্য বিষয়কে 'illustrate' করতে, 'expand' করতে বা 'enhance' করতেই এর ব্যবহার। *সেদিন দুজনে* গল্পে বসন্তকালীন মনোরম আবহাওয়া এবং সেই আবহাওয়ার দরুণ 'কত্তা-গিন্নি'র ফুরফুরে মেজাজ পাঠকের কাছে অনেক বেশি মনোগ্রাহী হয়েছে allusion তৈরি হয়েছে ব'লে। গল্পে যখন বিবৃত হয় –

> আবহাওয়াটি বড় মনোরম। ললিতলতা লবঙ্গলতা। পরিশীলন কোমল সেই সময় সমীরণে মোটেই ঠাণ্ডার কামড় নেই [৯]

তখন জয়দেবের গীতগোবিন্দের 'সামোদ-দামোদর:' শীর্ষক প্রথম সর্গের পংক্তি মনে আসে,

> ললিতলবঙ্গলতাপরিশীলনকোমলমলয়সমীরে।
> মধুকরনিকরকরম্বিতকোকিলকূজিতকুঞ্জকুটীরে।।[১০]

৩.১.৩ 'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পে micro-intertextuality (INDICATION)

কোনো একটি পাঠে বারবার একই ধরনের allusion তৈরি হলে, তার পরিণামে indication তৈরি হবার সম্ভাবনা থাকে। অর্থাৎ, লেখকের বিশেষ কোনো অভীষ্ট বক্তব্যের ইঙ্গিত থাকা সম্ভব। বিষয়টি আমরা 'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পের নিরিখে বোঝার চেষ্টা করব।

- সেদিন দুজনে গল্পের শুরু হয় নিম্নরূপে—

> এক যে ছিলেন কত্তা, তাঁর ছিল এক গিন্নি। কত্তাটি ফর্সা ধবধবে, লম্বা চওড়া -গিন্নি কালকাল ছোটখাট। কত্তা স্বল্পভাষী, গিন্নি বাক্যিনির্ঝর। কত্তা যেমনই সভ্যভব্য, কেতাদুরস্ত শান্তশিষ্ট, ভদ্রলোক- গিন্নি তেমনি ছটফটে, দুরন্ত, সভ্যতাবর্জিত, বন্যপ্রাণী। দুর্ধর্ষ গিন্নিকে সামলাতে সামলাতে ভালোমানুষ কত্তার প্রাণ যায়-যায়। এহেন গিন্নিকে নিয়ে কত্তা সংসার পেতে বসলেন কোথায়? না সাত সমুদ্দুর তেরো নদী পার হয়ে সেই মার্কিন মুলুকে।[১১]

প্রথম বাক্যটি তো বটেই, সেইসঙ্গে পরের বাক্যগুলির অন্বয়, শব্দ চয়ন দেখলেই বোঝা যায়, এখানে রূপকথার ভাষাশৈলীর allusion নির্মাণ করা হয়েছে।

- 'সাত সমুদ্দুর তেরো নদী পার'-এর image গল্পে আবারও ফিরে আসে—

> কিন্তু গিন্নি তো তখন পেছন ফিরে পেঁয়াজ কুচচ্ছেন, আর থেকে থেকে চোখ মুচ্ছেন। খানিকটা জল পেঁয়াজের জন্যে, আর বাকিটা সাতসমুদ্দুর তেরনদীর পারে ফেলে আসা দুটি বুড়োবুড়ির জন্যে।[১২]

গিন্নির বাবা-মাকে 'দুটি বুড়োবুড়ি' ব'লে অভিহিত করার বিষয়টিও স্মর্তব্য। এসব আসলে রূপকথার ভাষাভঙ্গিকেই allude করে।

- এরপর দেখবো দুটি দীর্ঘ বাক্য—

ক) একটা গাছে মস্ত মস্ত চওড়া সবুজ পাতার বাহার- আরেকটা গাছে বেগুনী ফুল ফুটে আছে থোকা থোকা, একটা ক্ষুদে গাছে ক্ষুদে ক্ষুদে কমলালেবু টুনি-বালবের মতো জ্বলছে, আর একটা ছোট লঙ্কাগাছে লাল টুকটুকে লঙ্কা ঝুমঝুম করছে।[১৩]

খ) আর গিন্নি রান্নাঘরে অর্থাৎ তিনগজ তফাতে রান্নাবান্নার কোণটাতে দাঁড়িয়ে দাঁড়িয়ে কুটনো কোটেন কুটুর-কুটুর, বাসন মাজেন খুটুর-খুটুর, আর গড়গড় করে কথা বলেন।[১৪]

একগুচ্ছ ধ্বন্যাত্মক শব্দ আর শব্দদ্বৈত প্রয়োগের পাশাপাশি এখানে রয়েছে অনুপ্রাসের (alliteration) প্রাচুর্য। দুটি বাক্যের মধ্যে প্রথম বাক্যের দিকেই আগে নজর দেওয়া যাক (সারণি ১ দ্রষ্টব্য)।

এ**ক**টা **গা**ছে	/k/ ও /g/ উভয় কন্ঠ্য ধ্বনিতে alliteration হচ্ছে।
মস্ত মস্ত	শব্দদ্বৈত
চওড়া স<u>বু</u>**জ** <u>পা</u>তার <u>বা</u>হার	i) /ʧ/ ও /ʤ/ তালব্য ধ্বনিতে alliteration ii) /b/, /p/ দ্বিওষ্ঠ্য ধ্বনিতে alliteration iii) স্বরধ্বনি ও ব্যাঞ্জনধ্বনির ক্রম পাই, (CVVCV) (CVCVC) (CVCVC) (CVCVC) -প্রতি শব্দে ৫টি ধ্বনি, শেষ তিনটি শব্দে স্বর ও ব্যাঞ্জনধ্বনি একই ক্রমে সজ্জিত এবং শেষ দুটি শব্দে /a/-র assonance তৈরি হয়।
আরে<u>ক</u>টা **<u>গা</u>ছে**	i) /a/ এবং /e/ ধ্বনির ক্রম assonance তৈরি করে। ii) /k/, /g/ ধ্বনিতে alliteration
বে<u>গু</u>নী **ফু**ল **ফু**টে আছে	i) পরপর ৩বার দ্বিওষ্ঠ্য ধ্বনি(/b/, /p^h/)-র প্রয়োগে alliteration ii) /u/ ধ্বনির assonance iii) ‘আছে’-র সাথে ‘গাছে’-র ধ্বনিসাদৃশ্য
থোকা থোকা	শব্দদ্বৈত
এ<u>ক</u>টা ক্ষুদে <u>গা</u>ছে ক্ষুদে ক্ষুদে <u>ক</u>মলালেবু	i) /k/, /k^h/ এবং /g/ কন্ঠ্য ধ্বনির প্রাবল্যে তৈরি হয় alliteration ii) ‘ক্ষুদে’ শব্দের বারংবার প্রয়োগ
ক<u>ম</u>**লালে**<u>বু</u> টুনি-<u>বা</u>**ল**<u>বে</u>র <u>ম</u>তো জ্ব**ল**ছে	i) দ্বিওষ্ঠ্য ধ্বনি /m/ ও /b/-এর alliteration ii) /l/-এর alliteration
আর এ<u>ক</u>টা ছোট **ল**<u>ঙ্কা</u><u>গা</u>ছে **লাল** <u>টুকটুকে</u> **ল**<u>ঙ্কা</u> ঝুমঝুম <u>ক</u>রছে	i) /k/ ও /g/ উভয় কন্ঠ্য ধ্বনিতে alliteration

	ii) /l/-এর alliteration
টুকটুকে	ধ্বন্যাত্মক শব্দ
ঝুমঝুম	ধ্বন্যাত্মক শব্দ

সারণি ১

একইভাবে, দ্বিতীয় বাক্যটিতেও শব্দদ্বৈত, ধ্বন্যাত্মক শব্দ, বৃত্তানুপ্রাসের যথেষ্ট প্রয়োগ দেখা যায়, যা রূপকথার ভাষাশৈলীর উল্লেখযোগ্য বৈশিষ্ট্য।

- গল্প ক্রমশ অগ্রসর হলে দেখি—

    পাইপের বদলে মই পেলুম টাক ডুমাডুম ডুম।[১৫]

এই বাক্যটি পড়ামাত্র বাঙালি পাঠক শৈশবে শোনা শেয়ালের নাকে বেগুনকাঁটা ফোটার গল্পটির দুই পংক্তি মনে মনে আওড়ে নেবেন- নাকের বদলে নরুন পেলাম/টাক ডুমাডুম ডুম ... হাঁড়ির বদলে কনে পেলাম/ টাক ডুমাডুম ডুম।

- গল্পের একেবারে শেষে গিয়ে পাওয়া যায় ‘বন্দিনী কন্যাকে উদ্ধার’ করার মতো চিরাচরিত রূপকথার চিত্রকল্প।

এতক্ষণের আলোচনায় আমরা নিশ্চয়ই বুঝেছি, নবনীতা তাঁর ‘সেদিন দুজনে’ গল্পে রূপকথার ভাষার allusion সৃষ্টি করেছেন। গল্পটি শেষ পর্যন্ত শিশু-কিশোর সাহিত্য না-হয়েও একরকম ছদ্ম রূপকথার আদল সৃষ্টি করে আর এভাবেই genre-intertextuality তৈরি হয়। প্রাপ্ত-বয়স্ক পাঠকের জন্য রচিত গল্পে বারংবার রূপকথার ভাষাছাঁদ allude করার ফলে allusion-গুলি সমষ্টিগতভাবে intertextuality-র প্রকৃতিকে নির্দেশধর্মী বা indication-এর স্তরে পৌঁছে দিয়ে নতুন এক অর্থের মাত্রা নির্দেশ করে। ‘সেদিন দুজনে’ শিরোনাম যেমন শেষ পর্যন্ত পাঠকের মনে বিরহের বোধ জাগায়, তেমনি রূপকথার ভাষাবৈশিষ্ট্যের সাঙ্গীকরণও কার্যত রূপকথার জগতের বিপরীতমুখী বোধের জন্ম দেয়। রূপকথার সব পেয়েছির দেশ বাস্তবজীবনে বড়ই ক্ষণস্থায়ী, এমন এক বিষন্নতার প্রচ্ছন্ন ইঙ্গিত আছে গল্পের আদ্যোপান্ত। আর যেহেতু এই indication এখানে intertext (রূপকথা)-টির বিপরীতমুখী ভাব জাগায়, অর্থাৎ indication-এর ভিত্তি রূপকথার context অপেক্ষা ভিন্নধর্মী context, তাই এটি **ঋণাত্মক indication**।

৩.১.৪ ‘সেদিন দুজনে’ গল্পে micro-intertextuality (ADAPTATION)

নবনীতা দেবসেন ‘সেদিন দুজনে’ গল্পে দুজন মার্কিনী ছাত্রের দৈহিক বর্ণনা দিতে গিয়ে সরাসরি comic চরিত্র Laurel ও Hardy-র তুলনা টেনেছেন (চিত্র ৪ দ্রষ্টব্য)।

চিত্র ৪ : Oliver Hardy ও Stan Laurel (বাঁদিক থেকে)

পাঠকের Laurel & Hardy films[১৬] সম্পর্কে খানিক ধারণা থাকা এক্ষেত্রে জরুরি। তা না-হলে পাঠকের পাঠ-অভিজ্ঞতা ও লেখিকার পাঠ-অভিজ্ঞতায় মিলের অভাবে গল্পের এই অংশের হাস্যরস উপলব্ধিতে ঘাটতি থেকে যাবে। Adaptation-এ যেহেতু যেকোনও বিষয় সংক্রান্ত ধারণা সরাসরি গ্রহণ করা হয়, তাই তা **ধনাত্মক** প্রকৃতিরই হয়। এক্ষেত্রেও তাই হয়েছে।

৩.১.৫ 'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পে micro-intertextuality (QUOTATION)

'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পে আমরা quotation-এর ক্ষেত্রে উদ্ধৃতি চিহ্নের উপস্থিতি-অনুপস্থিতি দুই-ই লক্ষ করি। উদ্ধৃতি চিহ্ন ব্যবহার ক'রে কিছু quotation এসেছে। যেমন,

i. "আমি ক্লান্ত প্রাণ এক"
ii. "কপোতকপোতী সম (?) উচ্চবৃক্ষচূড়ে"
iii. "এখনও গেল না আঁধার"

উদ্ধৃতিগুলি যথাক্রমে জীবনানন্দ দাশের *বনলতা সেন*, মধুসূদন দত্তের *মেঘনাদবধ কাব্যের* চতুর্থ সর্গ এবং রবীন্দ্রনাথের পূজা পর্যায়ের ১৫১তম গান থেকে গৃহীত। আমাদের বুঝতে অসুবিধা হয় না যে, উৎস-পাঠগুলিতে উদ্ধৃতিগুলি যে-যে context-এ প্রযুক্ত হয়েছে, গল্পের সংশ্লিষ্ট context সেগুলির সমমানের তো একেবারেই নয়, বরং গল্পের এইসব context-এর গভীরতা ও গাম্ভীর্য তুলনায় অনেকটাই লঘু। তাই এরকম ক্ষেত্রে intertextuality-র ফলে সৃষ্ট contextual relation ঋণাত্মক বলা যাবে না। এগুলি তাই **দুর্বলভাবে ধনাত্মক quotation**।

উদ্ধৃতি চিহ্নের ব্যবহার হয়নি এমন উদ্ধৃতিও অপ্রতুল নয়। যেমন,

i. ভীষণ- রঙ্গে ভবতরঙ্গে ভাসাই ভেলা
ii. সময় বহিয়া যায় নদীর স্রোতের প্রায়
iii. একি লাবণ্যে পূর্ণ প্রাণ প্রাণেশ হে
iv. দখিণা বায়, মন রয় না রয় না রয় না ঘরে, মন রয় না
v. আনন্দ-বসন্ত-সমাগমে

এগুলি যথাক্রমে রবীন্দ্রনাথের *সোনার তরী* কাব্যের *ঝুলন* কবিতা, যোগীন্দ্রনাথ সরকারের *কাকাতুয়া*, রবীন্দ্রনাথের পূজা পর্যায়ের ৫৩৯তম গান, প্রেম পর্যায়ের ২৭২তম গান এবং আবারও পূজা পর্যায়ের ৫৩৯তম গান থেকে উদ্ধৃতি চিহ্ন ব্যতিরেকে উদ্ধৃত। গল্পে যেসমস্ত প্রসঙ্গে এইসব উদ্ধৃতি প্রযুক্ত, তাতে আমাদের বুঝতে অসুবিধা হয় না যে, কৌতুক (fun) সৃষ্টিই গল্পকারের মুখ্য উদ্দেশ্য। তবে এরপরেও দেখা যাবে, প্রথম, দ্বিতীয় ও পঞ্চম উদ্ধৃতির প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক যথেষ্ট **ধনাত্মক**। অন্যদিকে, তৃতীয় ও চতুর্থ উদ্ধৃতির প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক যথাক্রমে **ঋণাত্মক (negative)** এবং **দুর্বলভাবে ধনাত্মক (weekly positive)**।

৩.২ 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পের আন্তর্পাঠতার প্রকৃতি বিশ্লেষণ

'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পটি ১৩৯০ বঙ্গাব্দে দেশ পত্রিকার শারদীয় সংখ্যায় প্রথম প্রকাশিত হয়। এই গল্পে দেখা যায়, লেখিকা তিন প্রজন্মে ভালোবাসা সম্পর্কিত ধারণার বিবর্তন নিয়ে একটি প্রবন্ধ লিখবেন ব'লে অনেকের সাক্ষাৎকার নিচ্ছেন। এই সাক্ষাৎকার নিতে গিয়েই লেখিকা কী জাতীয় অভিজ্ঞতার সম্মুখীন হলেন এবং কী সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হলেন, তাই নিয়েই এই গল্প।

৩.২.১ 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পে macro-intertextuality

'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পের মতোই 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পের শিরোনামটিও একটি intertext। এর উৎসও একটি রবীন্দ্রসঙ্গীত। গানটির সংশ্লিষ্ট অংশ নিচে উল্লেখ করা হল—

> সখী, ভাবনা কাহারে বলে। সখী, যাতনা কাহারে বলে।
> তোমরা যে বলো দিবস-রজনী 'ভালোবাসা' 'ভালোবাসা'—
> সখী, ভালোবাসা কারে কয় ! সে কি কেবলই যাতনাময়। [১৭]

রবীন্দ্রনাথের এই গানে ভালোবাসা সম্পর্কে উঠে আসে নানা প্রশ্ন ("ভাবনা কাহারে বলে", "যাতনা কাহারে বলে", "ভালোবাসা কারে কয়"), উঠে আসে ছদ্ম-প্রশ্নের আড়ালে কিছু নেতিবাচক মন্তব্য ("সে কি কেবলই যাতনাময়", "সে কি কেবলই চোখের জল", "সে কি কেবলই দুখের শ্বাস") এবং শেষ পর্যন্ত একটা সদর্থক মনোভাব ফুটে ওঠে ("আমার চোখে তো সকলই শোভন" ইত্যাদি) – ভালোবেসে যে সুখলাভ হয়, সেই সুখানুভূতির কথা বলা হয়।

'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পেও অনুরূপ কৌশল দেখা যায়। অর্থাৎ, প্রথম দিকে ভালোবাসা সংক্রান্ত নানা প্রশ্ন সংশয় (লেখিকা বিভিন্ন মানুষের সাক্ষাৎকার নিচ্ছেন, তাদের প্রত্যেকের কাছে প্রেম কী, তা জানতে চাইছেন), তারপর বেশ কিছু নঞর্থক মনোভাবের উদয় (যেমন - পড়াশোনা তথা কেরিয়ার তৈরির ক্ষেত্রে প্রেম মস্ত একটা প্রতিবন্ধক, প্রেম একইসঙ্গে সময় ও অর্থ অপচয়ের কারণ, বর্তমান যুগে প্রেম করে বোকারা আর ন্যাকারা; বাকিদের কাছে প্রেম হল একটা 'ফান' ইত্যাদি) এবং শেষে ভালোবাসা বিষয়ে সদর্থক অনুভূতির প্রকাশ দেখা যায় (যেমন – "মনে মনে সক্কলেই প্রেমে বিশ্বাস করে", "যেমন বুকের মধ্যে ভগবানের নাগাল না পেলেই লোকে বলতে থাকে ভগবানে বিশ্বাস করি না, অথচ যন্ত্রণা, অপমান, পরাজয়ের মুহূর্তে হাত বাড়িয়ে দৈবের নাগাল পেতে চায় অবিশ্বাসীও, এরাও তেমনি", ইত্যাদি)।

এখানে নিঃসন্দেহে **ধনাত্মক বা positive macro-intertextuality** পাওয়া যাচ্ছে। কারণ, উক্ত রবীন্দ্রসঙ্গীত এবং গল্প – দুটিতেই ভালোবাসা সম্পর্কিত অনুভূতির আলোচনাই হয়েছে প্রসঙ্গ এবং সেই বক্তব্যের গঠনরীতিও সমধর্মী। 'সেদিন দুজনে' গল্পের মতো এই গল্পেও কোটেশন প্রকৃতির macro-intertextuality দেখা গেল।

৩.২.২ 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পে micro-intertextuality (QUOTATION)

গল্পের যেসব অংশে উদ্ধৃতিচিহ্নযুক্ত এবং উদ্ধৃতিচিহ্নহীন quotation প্রকৃতির intertext এসেছে, সেগুলি নিচের সারণিতে নিম্নরেখাঙ্কিত করা হল। সেইসঙ্গে ক্রমান্বয়ে প্রতিটি quotation-এর উৎস নির্দেশ করা হল (সারণি ২ দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ক্রমিক সংখ্যা	**'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' (T_1) গল্পে ব্যবহৃত quotation**	**Quotation-এর উৎস পাঠ (T_2)**
i.	প্রেমের মূলতত্ত্বই হলো, যা বালকেও বোঝে, শতং করো, মা বলো। আর বলাই বাহুল্য, কদাচ মা লিখ।[১৮]	শতং বদ মা লিখ (প্রবাদ বাক্য)
ii.	এমন সময়ে...বাজিল কাহার বীণা?[১৯]	"বাজিল কাহার বীণা মধুর স্বরে"
iii.	নাটকীয়ভাবে হাতজোড় করে জ্যাকি শ্রফ মার্কা গোঁফের তলায় নকল করে মিষ্টি হেসে কুনাল বলে – "আজি মোর দৈন্য করো ক্ষমা" – বলেই লাইব্রেরির দরজায় সেঁধিয়ে যায়।[২০]	"দিনে দিনে অর্ঘ্য মম/পূর্ণ হবে, প্রিয়তম,/আজি মোর দৈন্য করো ক্ষমা।।" (মহুয়া)
iv.	হাসতে হাসতে মন্দাকিনী বলে – "শ্রীচৈতন্যদেবের টাইপের। "... মেরেছে কলসির কানা তাই বলে কি প্রেম দেব না?" আমি সেই টাইপ।[২১]	প্রবাদবাক্য। তবে এর পিছনে রয়েছে চৈতন্যজীবনীতে বর্ণিত জগাই-মাধাই কেন্দ্রিক ঘটনা, যা বহুজনবিদিত।
v.	'হে মাধবী-দ্বিধা-কেন-আসিবে-কি-ফিরিবে কি'-র মতো করে আমি বলি – "কি ব্যাপার? এত কিন্তু-কিন্তু কিসের? এই কি নতুন আসছিস? নাকি তোরা রিমঝিম? আর প্রতিম? আয় না ওপরে আয়, শুধু শুধু অত ভয় পাচ্ছিস কেন? বোস্ এখানে। (আমি আছি গিন্নি আছেন, আছেন আমার নয় ছেলে!)[২২]	• প্রথমটি রবীন্দ্রনাথের প্রকৃতি পর্যায়ের একটি গান • দ্বিতীয়টি সুকুমার রায়ের 'ভয় পেয়ো না' কবিতা

সারণি ২

এবার আমরা পরপর উপরোক্ত quotation-এর প্রকৃতি বিশ্লেষণ করব।

i. **ধনাত্মক quotation** □ 'শতং বদ মা লিখ' – এর অর্থ হল মুখে আমরা কটূক্তি, মিথ্যা ভাষণ, নিন্দা, অশ্লীল মন্তব্য ইত্যাদি যা কিছু অনুচিত বাক্য বলি না কেন, সেইসব কথা কখনোই লিখিত আকারে প্রকাশ করা উচিত নয়। তাহলে তা প্রমাণ হিসেবে থেকে যাবে এবং মানহানির কারণ হতে পারে।

এবার আসা যাক গল্পে প্রযুক্ত অংশে। লেখিকাকে সম্পাদক মহাশয় প্রেম বিষয়ে প্রবন্ধ লিখতে বলেছেন। তিনি পড়েছেন মুশকিলে। কারণ প্রেম কী, তা অনুভবযোগ্য; মনের কাছেই তার যাবতীয় আবেদন। কথা কিংবা লেখা কোনো মাধ্যমেই এটি প্রকাশযোগ্য নয়। ফলে এই প্রকাশের অযোগ্য বিষয়ের সূত্রেই উক্ত প্রবাদটির সঙ্গে গল্পের এই অংশের প্রাসঙ্গিক মিল। এটি তাই ধনাত্মক quotation। তিনি প্রবাদবাক্যটিকে প্রয়োজন মতো খানিক বদলে নিয়ে প্রয়োগ করেছেন।

ii. **দুর্বলভাবে ধনাত্মক quotation** □ গল্পের সংশ্লিষ্ট অংশের সাথে গানের প্রায় কোনো রকম প্রাসঙ্গিক মিল নেই বললেই চলে। গল্পে ব্যবহৃত quotation-এ বীণা বাজার কথা বলা হলেও

আসলে একটি ডোরবেল বেজেছে। প্রাসঙ্গিক মিল যদি স্বল্প মাত্রায় থাকেও, তাহলে তা কেবলমাত্র ডোরবেল (গল্পে) এবং বীণা (গানে) বেজে ওঠার আকস্মিকতায় এবং বীণাবাদক ও ডোরবেল যে বাজিয়েছে তাঁদের অনির্দেশ্যতায়। ফলে এখানে আমরা ধনাত্মক quotation পেলেও, তা দুর্বলভাবে ধনাত্মক।

iii. **ঋণাত্মক quotation** : উৎস পাঠের সঙ্গে এই অংশের কোনো প্রাসঙ্গিক মিল নেই। ঋণাত্মক quotation এটি। রবীন্দ্রনাথের মহুয়া কাব্যে প্রিয়তমের প্রতি প্রিয়তমার আত্মনিবেদনের আকাঙ্ক্ষা ও অপারগতা ফুটে ওঠে। কিন্তু গল্পে উদ্ধৃতিটি লেখিকাকে তাঁর ছাত্র বলেছে। বেশ খানিক্ষণ ধরে প্রেম সম্বন্ধে তার মতামত ব্যক্ত করার পর যখন সে অধৈর্য হয়ে পড়েছে, তখন তাড়াতাড়ি লেখিকাকে বিদায় জানিয়ে চলে যাবার জন্যই সে রবীন্দ্রনাথের কবিতা থেকে একটি অংশ উদ্ধার করেছে। এই উদ্ধৃতিটি আসলে তার বিদায় জানানোর সুভাষণ রীতি (Euphemism)-তে পরিণত হয়েছে।

তাছাড়া, এই তৃতীয় উদাহরণে আরও একটি ব্যাপার উল্লেখযোগ্য। এখানে quotation এবং allusion উভয়ে মিলে একটা ইমেজ তৈরি করেছে। 'জ্যাকি শ্রফ মার্কা গোঁফ' allusion তৈরি করে। তারপর যখন পুরো বাক্যটিতে দেখা যায়, নাটকীয় ভঙ্গিতে কুনালের নমস্কার করা এবং তার 'জ্যাকি শ্রফ মার্কা গোঁফ', তার নকল হাসি আর সেই সঙ্গে রবীন্দ্রনাথের কবিতা থেকে উদ্ধৃতি টেনে সুভাষণ রীতিতে শিক্ষিকাকে (অর্থাৎ লেখিকাকে) বিদায় জানানো, তখন এই সবটা মিলে তৈরি হয় কুনাল চরিত্রের ইমেজ।

iv. **ঋণাত্মক quotation** : চতুর্থ উদাহরণটিও একটি ঋণাত্মক quotation। গল্পে দেখা যায়, প্রেম ক'রে যদি আঘাত আসে, তবুও মন্দাকিনী কখনো প্রেমের প্রতি বিমুখ হয় না। আঘাত পাওয়া সত্ত্বেও ভালোবাসায় তার অটুট বিশ্বাস – এই বিষয়টিকে অবলম্বন ক'রেই উদ্ধৃতিটি ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে। কিন্তু আসলে কোনো প্রাসঙ্গিক মিল নেই। কারণ, চৈতন্যদেবের প্রেমধর্ম আপামর জনসাধারণের হৃদয়ে পারস্পরিক ভেদাভেদহীন ভালোবাসা জাগিয়ে তোলার কথা বলে। যে ভালোবাসা জগাই-মাধাইয়ের মতো দুর্বৃত্তকেও সুপথে এনে তাকে আপন ক'রে নেয়, তা সর্বব্যাপী মানবপ্রেম। কিন্তু 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পের মন্দাকিনীর প্রেম নিছকই কামনা-বাসনাযুক্ত নারী-পুরুষের প্রেম।

v. **দুর্বলভাবে ঋণাত্মক quotation** : লেখিকার বাড়িতে তাঁর মেয়ের দুই বন্ধুর আসার যে দ্বিধা তার সঙ্গে 'হে মাধবী, দ্বিধা কেন' গানের প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক খুব বেশি নেই। গানে আমরা দেখি, প্রকৃতির আঙিনায় চামেলি, বকুল, করবী, শিরীষ এলেও, মাধবী এখনো পদার্পণ করেনি। তাই মাধবীর কাছে কবির প্রশ্ন –

হে মাধবী, দ্বিধা কেন, আসিবে কি ফিরিবে কি—
আঙিনাতে বাহিরিতে মন কেন গেল ঠেকি।।

অন্যদিকে, গল্পে আমরা জানতে পারি, মেয়ের সামনে পরীক্ষা ব'লে লেখিকা কিছুদিন আগেই বাড়িতে মেয়ের বন্ধুদের জমায়েত দেখলেই রেগে গিয়ে তাড়াতাড়ি তাদেরকে ভাগিয়ে দিয়েছেন। তাই এখন তারা এই বাড়িতে আসতে দ্বিধাগ্রস্ত। ফলে উভয় টেক্সটে দ্বিধা বিষয়ে প্রাসঙ্গিক সাদৃশ্য নেই। অতএব, উভয় কন্‌টেক্সটের ঋণাত্মক সম্পর্ক বলাই যায়। কিন্তু আমরা খেয়াল করব, নবনীতা লিখেছেন -

'হে মাধবী-দ্বিধা-কেন-আসিবে-কি-ফিরিবে কি'-র মতো করে আমি বলি

অর্থাৎ, তিনি বলার ভঙ্গিমার ওপর জোর দিতে চাইছেন। এবার এই গানের দিকে খেয়াল করলে আমরা বুঝতে পারব, সেই সুরের মধ্যেও একাধারে দ্বিধার ও দ্বিধাগ্রস্তকে অভয়দানের অভিব্যক্তি মিশে আছে। অন্যদিকে গল্পে দেখা যায়, ইতিপূর্বে যে ছেলে দুটিকে লেখিকা নিজেই 'রৈ-রৈ শব্দে ভাগিয়ে' দিয়েছিলেন, তাদেরকেই যখন তিনি বাড়ির ভিতরে আসতে বলছেন, তখন তাঁর কণ্ঠস্বরেও ওই গানের মতোই যেন খানিক দ্বিধা ও দ্বিধাগ্রস্তকে অভয়দানের অভিব্যক্তি মিশে থাকে। কণ্ঠস্বরের এই ভঙ্গিতে তিনি বলতে থাকেন—

> কি ব্যাপার? এত কিন্তু-কিন্তু কিসের? এই কি নতুন আসছিস? নাকি তোরা রিমঝিম? আর প্রতিম? আয় না ওপরে আয়, শুধু শুধু অত ভয় পাচ্ছিস কেন? বোস্ এখানে।

সুতরাং এই মিলটুকুর দরুন ঋণাত্মক quotation হয়েও, তা দুর্বলভাবে ঋণাত্মক।

ধনাত্মক quotation অভয়দানের প্রসঙ্গেই আসে সুকুমার রায়ের 'ভয় পেয়ো না' থেকে গৃহীত ইন্টারটেক্সট –

> আমি আছি গিন্নি আছেন, আছেন আমার নয় ছেলে

এক্ষেত্রে আবার ধনাত্মক quotation পাচ্ছি। কারণ, উক্ত ছড়ায় আমরা দেখেছি, সত্যই যে ভীতিপ্রদ, সে একটি ছোট ছেলেকে নিজের শিকারে পরিণত করবে ব'লে তাকে মিথ্যে অভয় দিয়ে আকর্ষণ করছে। অন্যদিকে গল্পেও আমরা দেখি, লেখিকা আগন্তুক ছেলে দুটির কাছে সত্যই ভীতিপ্রদ। কারণ আগে একদিন তারা এই লেখিকার কোপের মুখে প'ড়ে চলে যেতে বাধ্য হয়েছিল। আর এখন লেখিকা তাদেরকেই অভয়দান ক'রে ডাকছেন নিজের প্রয়োজনে। প্রয়োজন একটাই – প্রেম বিষয়ে সাক্ষাৎকার নেওয়া।

৩.২.৩ 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পে micro-intertextuality (ALLUSION)

গল্পের যেসব অংশে উদ্ধৃতিচিহ্নযুক্ত এবং উদ্ধৃতিচিহ্নহীন allusion প্রকৃতির intertext এসেছে, সেগুলি নিচের সারণিতে পরপর তুলে ধরা হল। সেইসঙ্গে ক্রমান্বয়ে প্রতিটি allusion-এর উৎস নির্দেশ করা হল (সারণি ৩ দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ক্রমিক সংখ্যা	'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' (T_1) গল্পে ব্যবহৃত allusion	Allusion-এর উৎস পাঠ (T_2)
i.	তাঁদের বধিবেন যাঁরা, তাঁদের কে যে এখন কোন্ গোকুলে বর্ধমান তা কি আমি জানি?[২৩]	কংসবধের উদ্দেশ্যে কৃষ্ণের গোকুলে বেড়ে ওঠার পৌরাণিক কাহিনি
ii.	সন্তোষকুমার ঘোষের সেই 'কবিতা' নয়, কিন্তু 'কবিতার প্রায়' যেমন, তেমন এও কি ঠিক 'প্রেম' নয়, 'প্রেমের প্রায়' কোনো সম্পর্ক?[২৪]	সন্তোষকুমার ঘোষের একমাত্র কাব্যগ্রন্থের নাম 'কবিতার প্রায়'।
iii.	কৃষ্ণের বাঁশির জন্য শ্রীরাধিকার আকুল প্রতীক্ষাও এই আমার কাছে তুশ্চু![২৫]	বৈষ্ণব সাহিত্যে বর্ণিত কৃষ্ণপ্রেমে বাহ্যজ্ঞানশূন্য শ্রীরাধিকার কৃষ্ণের বাঁশি শোনার আকুল প্রতীক্ষা

iv.	হিন্দি সিনেমাতে ভিলেনই হোক, হিরোই হোক এমনি একটা সময়ে নিজেই নিজের দু'গালে বা-হাত বুলোতে থাকে। তারপর ডান হাতে ঘুষি মারে। ('শাহেনশা'তে অবশ্য উলটো।)[২৬]	(ক) সাধারণত হিন্দি সিনেমার অ্যাক্‌শন দৃশ্যের আগে হিরো বা ভিলেনের আচরণ। (খ) অমিতাভ বচ্চন অভিনীত প্রখ্যাত হিন্দি সিনেমা 'শাহেনশা'র কথা বলা হয়েছে।

সারণি ৩

উপরোক্ত allusion-গুলির প্রকৃতি নির্ধারণ করা হল—

i. **ঋণাত্মক allusion** গল্পে সংশ্লিষ্ট অংশে লেখিকার ছোট ছোট দুই মেয়ের ভবিষ্যতের অজানা প্রেমিক সম্পর্কে লেখিকা উক্তিটি করেছেন। লক্ষনীয়, নবনীতা এখানে গোকুলে বর্ধমান কৃষ্ণের আসন্ন কংসবধের যে allusion তৈরি করলেন, তার ফলে যে নতুন একটি মেটাফর তৈরি হল, সেটি নিম্নরূপ-

'প্রেমে পড়া হল বধ হওয়া'

'বধ হওয়া' হল মেটাফরের source domain, যার দ্বারা আমরা 'প্রেমে পড়া'-র প্রকৃতিকে চিনছি। অর্থাৎ, 'প্রেমে পড়া' হল মেটাফরের target domain। মেটাফর সৃষ্টিতেই এখানে allusion-টি ব্যবহারের সার্থকতা। প্রকৃতপক্ষে কংসবধ এবং কৃষ্ণের বড় হবার সঙ্গে গল্পের কোনোরকম প্রাসঙ্গিক মিল নেই। তাই এটি অবশ্যই ঋণাত্মক allusion। কংসবধ এবং লেখিকার দুই মেয়ের প্রেমে বধ হবার মেটাফরিকাল সাদৃশ্য এবং একইসঙ্গে এই দু'য়ের প্রাসঙ্গিক বৈসাদৃশ্য বা ঋণাত্মকধর্মিতা একত্রে পাঠকের মনে হাস্যরসের উদ্রেক করেছে।

ii. **ঋণাত্মক allusion** কেবলমাত্র 'প্রায়' শব্দটির অর্থতাত্ত্বিক (semantic) সাদৃশ্য ছাড়া সন্তোষকুমার ঘোষের কাব্যগ্রন্থের 'কবিতার প্রায়' শিরোনামের সঙ্গে 'ভালোবাসা কারে কয়' গল্পে উল্লিখিত 'প্রেমের প্রায়' অভিব্যক্তির কোনো প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্ক নেই। তাই এটি ঋণাত্মক allusion। একে তবু allusion-ই বলতে হবে। কারণ, উৎস-পাঠে উল্লিখিত কবিতা সংরূপের কাছাকাছি কোনো সংরূপ 'প্রায়' শব্দের দ্যোতনার সাহায্যেই বর্তমান পাঠের প্রেমানুভূতির কাছাকাছি কোনো অনুভূতিকে আল্যুড করেছে। সন্তোষকুমার ঘোষের 'কবিতার প্রায়' শব্দবন্ধের সঙ্গে পরিচিত পাঠকের কাছে যে এই allusion বিশেষভাবে মনোগ্রাহী হবে, তা জোরের সাথে বলা যায়।

iii. **ঋণাত্মক allusion** গল্পে দেখা যায়, লেখিকা প্রেম বিশয়ে প্রবন্ধ লিখবেন ব'লে প্রেম সম্পর্কে কার কী অভিমত, তা জানার জন্য তাঁর মেয়ের বন্ধুদের সাক্ষাৎকার নিতে উদ্যোগী হন। তাই তিনি উদ্‌গ্রীব হয়ে অপেক্ষা করতে থাকেন কখন কেউ তাঁদের বাড়িতে এসে ডোরবেল বাজাবে আর তিনি সেই আগন্তুককে প্রেম সংক্রান্ত নানা প্রশ্ন করতে শুরু করবেন। তাঁর এই ডোরবেল বেজে ওঠার প্রতীক্ষা যে কতখানি তীব্র, তা বোঝানোর জন্যই তিনি কৃষ্ণের বাঁশির জন্য শ্রীরাধিকার আকুল প্রতীক্ষার allusion তৈরি করেছেন, যদিও প্রেমিকা রাধার অপেক্ষা আর সাক্ষাতকার গ্রহীতা লেখিকার অপেক্ষার মধ্যে প্রাসঙ্গিক সাদৃশ্যের কোনও অবকাশ নেই। তাই এটি ঋণাত্মক allusion।

তবে আমরা নবনীতার লেখায় একটা বৈশিষ্ট্য প্রায়শই খুঁজে পাই। অনেক সময় তিনি allusion তৈরি করেও সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই সেই নির্মিত allusion-কে ভেঙে দেন। যেমন, উক্ত রাধিকার allusion-কে তিনি বাক্যের শেষে 'তুশ্চু' শব্দের প্রয়োগের মাধ্যমে অস্বীকার করেছেন। এই অস্বীকার করার ফলেই গল্পের আলোচ্য অংশে আরও বেশি মাত্রায় কৌতুক সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। যেন লেখিকার ব্যাকুলতা কৃষ্ণের জন্য রাধার

ব্যাকুলতাকেও হার মানায়। এভাবে allusion তৈরি করে তাকে ভেঙে দেবার প্রবণতা আমরা পরের উদাহরণেও দেখতে পাব।

iv. **ঋণাত্মক allusion** : গল্পে দেখা যায়, সদ্য কলেজ পাশ করা সুদীপকে যখন লেখিকা প্রশ্ন করেন যে প্রেম সম্পর্কে সে ঠিক কী ভাবছে, তখন সে চেয়ারে ব'সে তেরচা চাউনিতে একদৃষ্টিতে লেখিকার দিকে তাকিয়ে থাকে। সুদীপের এই সময়কার মনোভাবকে স্পষ্ট করে তুলতেই যেন হিন্দি সিনেমার অ্যাক্‌শন হিরো বা ভিলেনের allusion, আরও বিশেষভাবে 'শাহেনশা' সিনেমার নাম-চরিত্র শাহেনশার allusion তৈরি করেছেন নবনীতা। কিন্তু এই দু'য়ের মধ্যে প্রাসঙ্গিক মিল না-থাকায় ঋণাত্মক allusion হয়েছে। এই allusion এর প্রকৃতি এতটাই ঋণাত্মকধর্মী যে লেখিকা পরের বাক্যেই allusion-টি ভেঙে দিয়েছেন। কারণ, লেখিকা তথা অধ্যাপিকা নবনীতাকে ছাত্র সুদীপের ঘুঁষি মারার এতটুকু সম্ভাবনাও অকল্পনীয়। পরের বাক্যটি হল – 'সুদীপ ঘুঁষি মারবে না, জানি'[২৬]।

৪. সিদ্ধান্ত

বর্তমান নিবন্ধের দীর্ঘ আলোচনায় নবনীতা দেবসেনের দুটিমাত্র গল্পকে ঘিরে তাঁর intertextuality-র বৈশিষ্ট্য তুলে ধরা হয়েছে ঠিকই, কিন্তু শুধু এই দুটি গল্প নয়, তাঁর আরও অজস্র গল্পের পরতে পরতে intertext-এর রমরমা। উদাহরণ হিসেবে নাম করা যায়, 'মেসোমশায়ের কন্যাদায়', 'আবার এসেছে আষাঢ়', 'নাট্যারম্ভ', 'মধ্যরাতের ভয়ঙ্কর', 'চোখ', 'বামুন-মুচি-রাজা', 'জরা হট্‌কে জরা বঁচ্‌কে ইয়ে হ্যায় নোবেল, মেরি জান্!' ইত্যাদি। সুতরাং এমন একটা শৈলীগত বৈশিষ্ট্যে উজ্জ্বল তাঁর সাহিত্যসম্ভার, যা নি:সন্দেহে তাঁর লেখনীকে স্বাতন্ত্র্যমন্ডিত করেছে।

নিবন্ধের ভূমিকায় আমরা দুটি প্রশ্ন রেখেছিলাম। এতক্ষণের আলোচনায় সেগুলির যে উত্তর পাওয়া গেল, তা নিম্নরূপ—

প্রথমত, নবনীতা দেবসেনের গল্পে সব ধরনের intertextuality-র নিদর্শন আমরা পেয়েছি। macro-intertextuality যেমন আছে, তেমনি micro-intertextuality-র অন্তর্গত allusion, adaptation, indication এবং quotation-ও রয়েছে পূর্ণমাত্রায়। এই নিবন্ধে নতুন যে দিকটির প্রতি আলোকপাত করা হয়েছে তা হল, intertextuality-র ফলে উভয় text-এর প্রাসঙ্গিক সম্পর্কের (contextual relation) ধনাত্মকতা ও ঋণাত্মকতার ধারণা। দেখা গেছে, নবনীতার লেখায় উভয় প্রকার বৈশিষ্ট্যই সুলভ। তবে নির্বাচিত গল্প দুটিতে যেগুলির প্রয়োগ দেখা গেল না (negative macro-intertextuality, positive indication), সেগুলি নবনীতার অন্যান্য গল্পে আছে কিনা বা থাকলে কী মাত্রায় আছে, তা পরবর্তী অনুসন্ধান সাপেক্ষ।

দ্বিতীয়ত, নবনীতা দেবসেনের ছোটগল্পে intertextuality-র প্রয়োগ আক্ষরিক অর্থেই পাঠককে ভাবিয়ে তোলে। শুধুমাত্র পড়বার অবিরাম গতিতে মেতে উঠে আন্তর্পাঠগুলি ওপর-ওপর ছুঁয়ে গেলে গল্পের রসবোধে বিস্তর ফাঁকি থেকে যাবে। গল্পগুলি আসলে পাঠকের বাড়তি মন:সংযোগ আদায় করতে চায়। আন্তর্পাঠের হাত ধরে গল্পের সংশ্লিষ্ট অংশটিকে গভীরভাবে অনুধাবন করতে ও সঠিকভাবে ব্যাখ্যা করতে পাঠককেও লেখকের পাঠ-অভিজ্ঞতার সমস্তরে বা অন্তত তার কাছাকাছি পৌঁছাতে হবে। আর intertext সম্বলিত পাঠের ক্ষেত্রে লেখক নিজেও যে তাঁর পাঠকের কাছে কিছুটা হলেও জ্ঞানের পরিধি আশা করেন, তা তো বলাই বাহুল্য। সুতরাং, পাঠক যখন নবনীতা দেবসেনের

সাহিত্য পরিধিতে প্রবেশ করেন, তখন সেখানে ইতস্তত ছড়িয়ে থাকা আন্তর্পঠতার সন্ধান যদি তিনি না পান, তবে রসের সম্পূর্ণ আস্বাদন তাঁর অধরা থেকে যাবে।

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Development of Prime-Target Confrontational Naming Test Tool for Tamil population

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A R T I C L E I N F O

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A B S T R A C T

In India, the geriatrics accounts for 8.6% of the total population, with the aging rate higher in southern states like Tamil Nadu. Increasing age often shows memory decline and word-retrieval impairments. To assess this, a naming test tool is essential. However, in India, language specific naming tools are in dearth. Hence, the current study aimed to develop a naming tool appropriate for the Tamil population to assess word retrieval impairments using visual-confrontational naming tasks with priming conditions. The study had four phases. After selection of 300 noun targets in Phase I, the targets that received the intended Content Validity Ratio (CVR) rated on word; -familiarity, -frequency and - length, from 5 language experts, were reserved to Phase II. 170 targets had the expected CVR scores for which primes were formed. Only 118 targets were selected as only these target items had primes that received expected CVR scores from another language expert set by the end of Phase II. Line drawings of both targets and primes and its image agreement by 150 elderly individuals was carried on in Phase III and IV respectively. In the final stimulus set, for 115 target words, 76 associative and 63 scene primes were selected based on percentage of agreement response and CVR from Phase IV. Thus, this study abetted in stimulus preparation for the naming test tool and validated in four distinctive phases and future studies may aim at standardization and validation of the test tool across cognitive communicative disorders.

1. Introduction

In India, the geriatric population accounts for about 103 million as per the aforementioned national census of population of India (Census, 2011). According to United Nations Population Fund (2017), Tamil Nadu, the southernmost state of India has

the 2nd highest greying rate in the country with 2.2% greying. The language of communication in this state is Tamil, which is also one of the official languages in India, Sri Lanka, and Singapore with its root in the Dravidian language family having a total speaker count of
86.9 million people worldwide (Census India, 2011).

Aging population often report memory decline and naming impairment with shreds of evidence showing that the impairment intensifies in neurological conditions such as Aphasia and Dementia (Huff, Corkin, & Growden, 1986). For decrease in memory with respect to word-retrieval, providing a semantically related word, a prime, will help in accessing the target based on prior exposure, thus facilitating accuracy and speed of naming. Conceding the available tools for naming, there are only inadequate confrontation naming related literature that focus on pictorial prime usage with respect to cultural-linguistic variables. In India, standardization and validation of translated naming tools and development of language-specific naming tools are meagre. A naming tool that is language-specific and linguistically controlled, with unambiguous, clearly identifiable common object words comprehending the language nuances is mandatory to avoid misinterpretations (Lucas & Jonas, 2021).

2. Research objectives

1) To develop a test tool for visual confrontation naming ability.

2) To prepare prime-target stimulus line drawings for scene and associative prime conditions in the test tool for visual confrontation naming ability.

3. Theoretical background

Naming is the process of knowing and retrieval of the label for an object, picture, or concept to word, which is the smallest independent unit of language. The task requires retrieval of semantic (related to meaning) and phonological (related to how sounds are organized and used in natural languages) information, which is organized in a memory system and assessed depending on the specificities of a given stimulus (Abhishek & Prema, 2013). The decline in naming ability with ageing may be multifactorial (Tsang & Lee, 2003). Although word finding takes place during the course of sentence generation in conversational speech, it is most often tested clinically in picture confrontation naming tasks where the vocabulary tested is constrained to known, identified target words. Priming is an implicit memory effect in which exposure to one stimulus influences response to another stimulus (Seamon, 1995). Confrontation naming tasks often are incorporated as part of clinical language testing to detect impairments of word-finding abilities in individuals with various types of neurologic impairments typically affecting the left hemisphere of the brain (Spreen & Risser, 2003).

The gold standard and most widely used is the Boston Naming test (Kaplan, Goodglass, & Weintraub, 1983). This test consists of 60-line drawings of objects of graded difficulty, ranging from very common objects (e.g., a tree) to less familiar objects such as an abacus. (Cuetos., Gonzalez., & Martinez., 2005). Although there are several translations and adaptations of BNT in different languages like Chinese, Korean and Indian languages like Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, a tool specific to Tamil is meagre. A naming tool was developed for Tamil speaking population based on Indianized version of BNT (Sujatha & Premalatha, 2013), yet the condensed sample size, stimulus set being un-uniform with different gradations and unexplored validation across disorders has left the scope of creating a new test tool modifying these shortcomings.

4. Methodology

4.1 Materials and Methods

This study was divided into four phases namely Phase I, Phase II, Phase III and Phase

IV. A detailed framework of the phases is elucidated below (Figure 1).
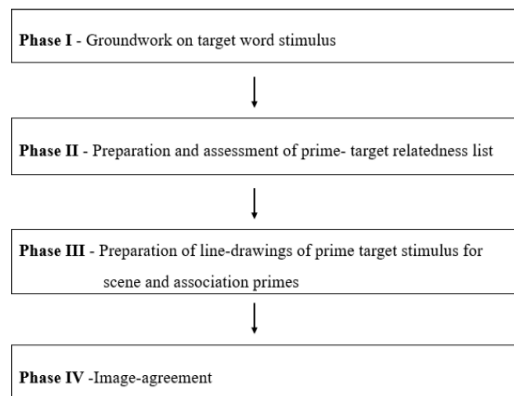
Figure 1: Framework of the current study

Phase I Groundwork on target word stimulus

Initially, a list of 300 noun targets in Tamil was prepared. The target list comprised a diverse category of lexical items grounded on the knowledge of investigator and opinion from three Speech-Language Pathologists' (SLPs') proficient in Tamil. Priority was given to the words that can be pictorially represented after a careful consideration of factors like word-frequency, word- familiarity, word length, name agreement and word complexity.

Qualitative and Quantitative valuation for justifying each word in the target word list was carried on by five Tamil teachers from Matriculation schools in Kancheepuram district, Tamil Nadu, India (with the criterion of teaching experience of at least five years in the language). The teachers were asked to rate each word in the list as "*not familiar/frequent*, fairly *familiar/frequent, highly familiar/frequent*", on three domains namely familiarity of the word in the language, frequency of word incidence in the language and a holistic remark on the word list with respect to its encompassment of words with varying length/complexity adhering in the language.

Phase II Preparation and assessment of prime- target relatedness list

As primes clue target, three appropriate scene primes and three related associative primes for each target word was prepared. For example, target word is cow, scene primes included village, farm & cow-shed and the associative primes included milk, milk-man and feeding bottle. This list of target words with primes was given to five Tamil matriculation teachers (Note: Not the same teachers who took part earlier) to select the best pair of prime-target for both scene and associative prime conditions. For assessing the prime-target relatedness, the teachers rated the relatedness of each word to its prime "not relatable, fairly relatable, highly relatable" responses.

Phase III Preparation of line-drawings

The final word list with target and primes were drawn in form of line drawings. All the diagrams were drawn on A4 sheets with noun targets drawn in the center of the sheet. All the diagrams were drawn using Black gel pen. Use of varied line complexity to depict pictures was incorporated. Line-drawing with greater line- complexity were used for picture identification for a few targets' stimulus such as "Crow". The drawn stimulus material of target words and primes were shown to an artist for secondary opinion/revision. The target pictures were not included both either in the scene prime or in associative prime stimulus. (Figure 2,3 and 4)
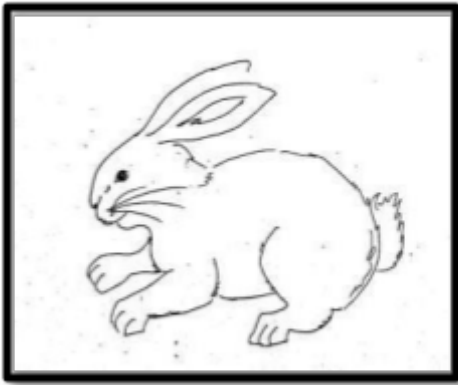
Figure 2: Rabbit - Target word
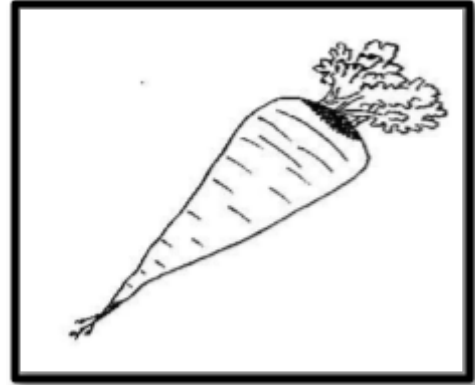
Figure 3: Carrot- Associative prime
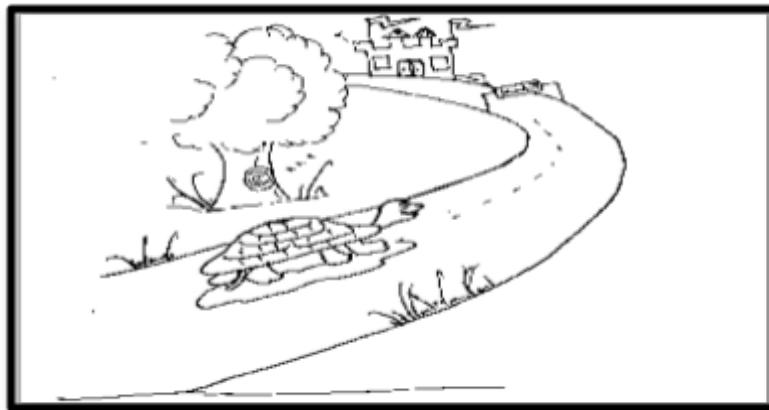
Figure 4: Hare and Tortoise story - Scene prime

Phase IV Image-agreement

Image agreement is when the drawn stimulus is eliciting the actual intended naming. For example, to check if a drawing of a "pen" elicits a response of a "pen". The final stimulus was given to investigate the image-agreement to ten experts including content experts (five SLPs) and lay experts (five potential research subjects) through content validation measure.

The final test material in pictorial representation of target and prime was administered on the cognitively healthy elderly individuals from old-age homes and neighborhood. A total of 150 participants were recruited using purposive sampling. A total of 150 individuals were recruited for the cross-sectional study with the criteria for inclusion as native Tamil speakers above 60 years of age (Mean = 73.48 years, S.D. = 2.5) and pass score in Mini mental status examination score above 23 (indicating no cognitive impairment), with any level of education and normal/correctedvision. The participants with any age-related cognitive decline, H/o Cerebro-vascular accidents, substance abuse or brain surgery were excluded from the study.

4.1.1. Test Environment

Each participant was tested individually seated in a quiet and comfortable environment.

Consent is taken prior to the testing for audio/video recordings. The stimulus was jumbled to eliminate "guessing" of pictures in the same category. During stimulus presentation, participants were asked to name the pictorial stimulus ofthe target word. The picture presentation will be for a duration of 10 seconds. If the responses are incorrect, no prompts will be provided to change the response. Spontaneous self-corrections were considered as correct response. The final target word list only included words that received 90% image agreement and CVR = 0.8 and above (that is at least 135 out of 150 participants have agreed with the name by naming them as intended when asked "What is this?", showing a target image). Analyses of Naming of prime-target pictures was done using descriptive statistics based on percentage of "agreement" of the prime-target stimulus presented to the individuals and stimulus which received 90% and above of "correct" responses in image agreement were selected for the final target material.

5. Results and Discussion

A language-specific community tends to use brief, readily pronounceable names to label objects that they encounter frequently and the names for these objects incline with a high degree of consensus across speakers. Less familiar objects tend to have longer, more variable, and less consensual names. Thus, the influences of these characteristic item attributes need to be teased apart while we are aiming to prepare a test tool for naming.

The current study takes this influence count aptly and had tested the attributes of word frequency, length and familiarity during the Phase I of the study that incorporates target wordlist preparation that will be drawn in the subsequent phases. After Phase I, total number of target-words rated on word-familiarity, frequency, name agreement and word length/complexity has been depicted as target words that received CVR greater than 0.6 and lesser than 0.6 (Figure 5).

That is, from 300 target words, 170 words were enlisted into Phase II based on CVR interpretation. CVR scores of 0.6 is considered as inclusion criteria in this phase where at least 4 out of 5 teachers had rated the needed (i.e., <80% aggregate was eliminated). Evidence suggests that there is a correlation between word length and word frequency to lexical decision and that speech onset latencies are comparatively longer for long than for short words (Levelt, 2003). In the current study, rating by teachers was carried on having this context in mind.
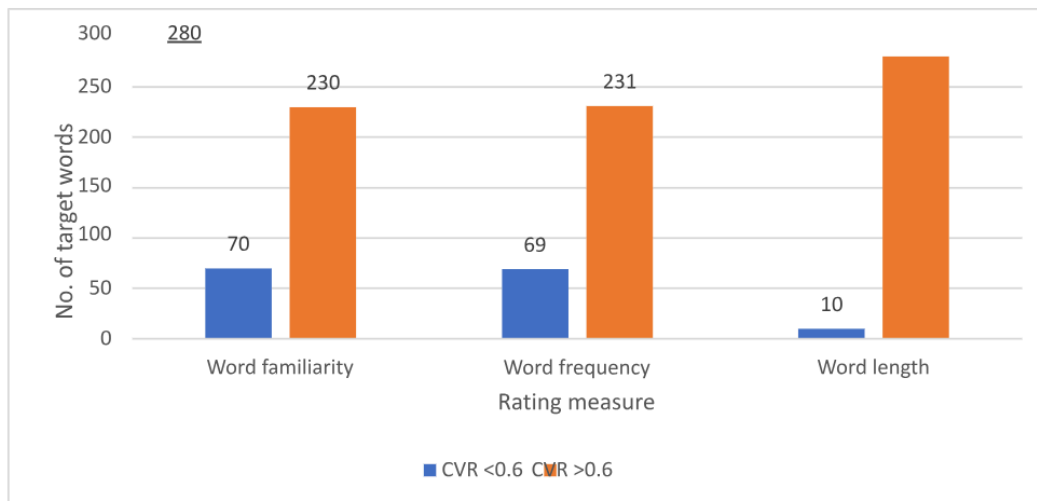
Figure 5: Phase I - Word count rated across word- familiarity, frequency & length

Studies on word-finding in older adults suggests that word retrieval (lexical access) is more demanding in them than younger adults with higher frequencies of tip-of-the-tongue experiences (James and Burke, 2000). The priming paradigm increases the target label activation (Meyer, 1999). Thus, the current study had employed associative and scene prime conditions to enable faster retrieval task of naming which may aid in faster retrieval through semantic linkage activation. After Phase II, for a total of 170 target words, 113 associative primes and 146 scene primes were prepared. From which, a total of 78 associative primes and 70 scene primes were selected based on CVR scoring and interpretation.

CVR scores of 0.6 computed by the teachers were considered in this phase rated in

terms of relatedness (i.e., CVR = 0.6 and above indicating 4 out of 5 teachers rated the word "relatable"). Thus, from a total of 170 target words, only 118 were selected to the next phase as only 118 words were having at least one prime at the end of phase II (Figure 6). After line drawings were prepared in Phase III, the test tool was scrutinized for image agreement in two measures preliminary and subsequent in thePhase IV. In preliminary measure, qualitative validation from five SLPs' and five geriatric population revealed minor revisions of stimulus E.g., excess of stripes for pictures such as "sugarcane" for better picture recognition
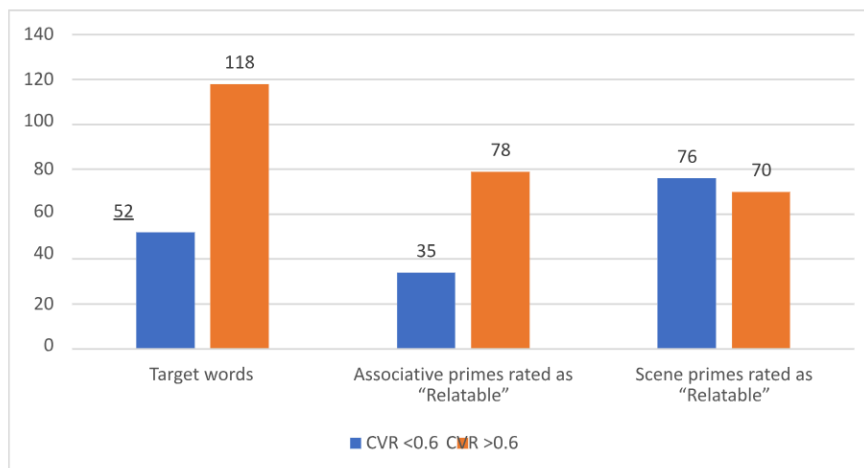
Figure 6: Account of words with 80% and above as percentage of relatedness in phase II

The results of subsequent measure on image-agreement revealed that 115 out of 118 total target pictures, 76 out of 78 associative primes, 63 out of 70 scene primes received CVR score of 0.9 and above, that is, at least a minimum of 135 out of 150 individuals have recognized the target stimulus aptly as intended. Thus, in the final stimulus material for 115 target words 76 associative primes and 63 scene primes were selected (Figure 7).
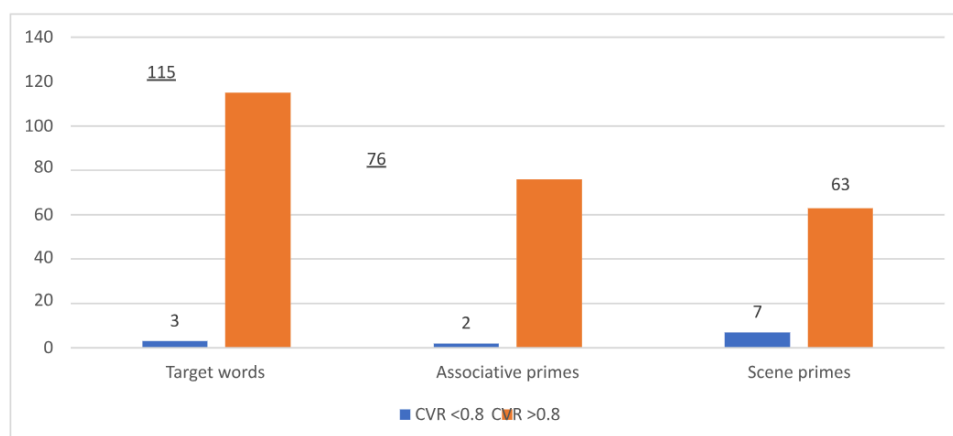
Figure 7: Representation of image agreement of target words, associative and scene primes

6. Conclusion

With the hindsight thought that though there are numerous test tools available for naming, thefeasibility and reliability of usage of test tools for naming in different culture and linguistic

environment is a paramount problem to be deciphered. The current study absorbed this question and focused on creation of a test tool that understands the tones of the Tamil language and culture instead of the mere translation. With existing dearth of linguistically appropriate test tools in India, a need for culturally appropriate stimulus material for assessing the confrontation naming is essential to clinically evaluate the individuals who are facing word-finding difficulty which will facilitate in better intervention and upright prognosis in neurologically impaired disorders and disorders of language.

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I Feel Like I Am Unable to Talk: In Search for Effable Phenomenal Concept

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ABSTRACT

Justin Timberlake[1] sang "I got this feelin' inside my bones It goes electric, wavy when I turn it on." He probably could not express how he felt in words or lyrics, so he resolved it with "I can't stop the feelin'. So just dance, dance, dance." Well, this is almost universal and most of the time *I feel like I am unable to talk*.

It is generally said no matter how you feel, delighted or dejected, putting feelings into words somehow helps. What does language have to do with our feelings? Anthropological findings suggest that the relationship between language and feelings is so profound and fundamental that it is linked with the origin of our species. However, in recent times, there has been a variety of interdisciplinary research going on regarding language and feeling (phenomenal states of mind, namely emotion, sensation and so on) within the discourses of philosophy, science, linguistics and in domains. Linguistics investigations illustrate that almost all aspects of human spoken language communicate or at least try to communicate feelings. Algorithms that are applied to natural human language disclose that affective meanings envisage consequences in social-political behaviours. Anthropological and linguistic research proves that the meaning of sensation words is diverse around the world. More precisely, the denotation of the feeling terms is culture-specific. Phenomenal expressions have the propensity to be devised as a tool for cross-cultural communication.

Can we express exactly the way we feel? Are those phenomenal concepts of experience potentially effable? It is often said that before you express a feeling, you need to know what it is. Once we resonate with those phenomenal aspects of consciousness, we generally adduce specific terms to annotate exactly how we feel. However, the question remains the same; am I able to talk about my feelings?

[1] Justin R. Timberlake, "Can't Stop the Feeling!" Kobalt Music Publishing Ltd., Universal Music Publishing Group. 2016

1.Reference And Phenomenal Concept

'Concept' is a layered term, that can be characterised in several ways. Discussions regarding the notion of concept typically blur the boundaries of semantics and philosophy of mind. Largely, concepts are mental representations of things, properties, states of affairs, etc. In classical thinking, concepts were perceived as definitions celebrated by competent users. However, it is almost unambiguous that a single definition cannot survive forever. Hence, it cannot provide a justifiable ground for concepts. Sometimes, they are taken as mental representations or even they are characterised as abstract objects. Some philosophers tied them with Fregean senses, while others fancy it as a recognitional term. Wittgenstein suggested that concept formation is not about knowing the definition but acknowledging the function of a concept in thought and practice. Moreover, in his view, the identifier of concept is not some closed set of attributes typically tokened by a definition, but rather it is the 'family resemblances' among the things, that contribute to the theory of concepts. In the latest philosophical developments, concepts are not recognised as internal realities, but they are facts about the outside milieu. In the philosophy of mind, concepts are seen as units of thought. There are mental states which include beliefs, desires, hopes, fears, and others that involve a proposition. A propositional attitude of the form 'R thinks that S' has two parts. While the first part 'R thinks' denotes the subject's conscious mental state, the later 'that S' unveils what that given mental state is about or the proposition (following Russell). Concepts are supposed to be the constituents of the propositions articulated by conscious mental states. However, when we reflect upon conscious mental states, it seems that mental states are not always about something but there are mental states they felt in a certain way. There is "something like to be" in those states and these states are coined as phenomenal mental states of consciousness.[2]

In this paper, I am trying to find out what sorts of concepts (if at all) may be involved in a mental state, so that the given mental state can grace the particular mental state *it is*. Feeing and belief are certainly different kinds of mental states because undoubtedly, they belong to different domains. Experiences are purely phenomenal as they are characterized by *what it is like* to have them. As Nagal[3] had put that there is *something it is like* to be a particular organism. Phenomenal Concepts are those one gets acquainted with by undergoing the relevant experience. One of the main reasons behind the popularity of the phenomenal concept is Frank Jackson's knowledge argument[4]. We all are familiar with the story of neuroscientist Mary, who has been kept locked in a black-and-white room since her birth. She has complete knowledge of seeing the colour red, though she has never actually seen red. Here knowledge refers to the physical property or the neurological/physiological process regarding colour vision. Now one day she comes out of her room and encounters a red tomato in front of her. Thus, she realizes that is what it is like to see something red. The conclusion is that Mary learns something new and that newness cannot be

[2] Following Montague, I believe that all mental states are phenomenal in their potential, be it belief state or feeling. The difference between them is phenomenological. The bipartite notion of intentional and phenomenal states of mind does not exist because consciousness typically involves phenomenology. But in the short term of this paper, I am bracketing that discussion.

[3] Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It Like to Be a Bat?" *The Philosophical Review* 83, no. 4 (1974): 435–50. https://doi.org/10.2307/2183914.

[4] Jackson, Frank. "What Mary Didn't Know." *The Journal of Philosophy* 83, no. 5 (1986): 291–95. https://doi.org/10.2307/2026143.

the physical property. She comes to know what is like to experience red or more precisely, she acquires the phenomenal concept of seeing red. No doubt Mary's discovery is a platform for many debates. But for the sake of this paper, I am bracketing them and considering it is also exhausted with fine grain phenomenal property. The obvious question then occurs what is a phenomenal concept? Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to pin down a single unanimous response in the given framework. There is no straightforward answer to this.

Philosophers like Brian Loar describe phenomenal concepts as direct recognitional concepts[5]. What he seems to have in mind is that when a person is having a particular experience s/he can dispose of a concept that refers directly to that experience. Loar also suggests that the mode of presentation of a phenomenal concept encompasses the experience itself. Unlike theoretical concepts, it is applied directly based on perceptual experience with the object. For example, in a new place, we can easily spot a new fashion statement, that have never seen before and pick out among others. Even we can Identify them in the future in the absence of the current instance. Because here the concept is linked with the capacity to form the image. Here we are not depending upon any theoretical or background knowledge.

According to another trend, phenomenal concepts are indexical concepts, that pick out brain states in indexical modes of presentation. So, they are thought of as indexical demonstratives that pick out phenomenal characters in the same manner demonstratives pick out objects in space. In this view, phenomenal concepts are concepts pointing to the experience itself in the context in which it occurs

Another way of explaining phenomenal concepts is in terms of their conceptual role. The typicality of a phenomenal concept lies in a distinct mode of reasoning. For them, Mary comes to know a new way of conceiving something that was already known to her. Some believe that phenomenal concepts are explained as quotational concepts. These are the concepts that contain the very mental state (phenomenal state) to which they refer. We can only acquire these concepts by employing the experience and then using them to introspectively pick out the phenomenal character of our experience.

Michael Tye identified Phenomenal Concepts with Causal-recognitional interpretations[6]. Tye claims that they are an unusual kind of recognitional concepts that refer directly. They are not accompanied by any such reference-fixing metaphors. Hence their mode of presentation is empty. It denotes the causal connection they hold with their referents. Suppose, there is a phenomenal concept P which refers to a phenomenal quality Q via P's being the concept that is exercised in introspection by the subject S if, and only if, under normal circumstances of introspection, Q is tokened in S's current experience and because Q is tokened. But how is it possible to recognise someone else's phenomenal state? There is no plausible response for this because phenomenal states necessarily involve subjective awareness which presupposes the authority of the first person only. Tye thinks that to be a phenomenal concept it is also supposed to undertake some kind of functional role to be public in the required sense. However, that cannot be defined a priori by disdaining phenomenal language.

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[5] Loar, B. 1990/97. "Phenomenal states." Philosophical Perspectives 4: Action Theory and Philosophy of Mind, ed. J. Tomberlin: 81-108. Atascadero, Calif.: Ridgeview. Revised version in *The Nature of Consciousness*, eds. N. Block, O. Flanagan, and G. Güzeldere. Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1997, pp. 597-616.

[6] Tye, Michael. "Representationalism and the Transparency of Experience." *Noûs* 36, no. 1 (March 2002): 137–51. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0068.00365.

There are other philosophers, who have tried to explain the directedness of the reference of phenomenal concepts via demonstration. According to them, PCs are a sort of demonstrative. Perry suggested that phenomenal concepts correspond to something like 'this qualitative character', where the demonstrative is guided by a perceptual state to its referent. Meanwhile, Levin advocates that PCs are type demonstratives without any mode of presentation at all.

Carruthers, one of the exponents of the recognitional account of phenomenal concepts, suggests that phenomenal concepts are pure recognitional concepts. They don't retain any descriptive modes of presentation. Carruthers notices that it's our introspective judgments, by which, we get acquainted with our experiences. To validate that acquaintance, it is necessary to apply to the higher-order consciousness, that is experiences of experiences to guide our phenomenal concepts to their referents. On this account, a phenomenal concept should be able to embrace our direct awareness of the grounds for the application of a phenomenal concept, in such a way that it should not encompass any a priori connections with non-phenomenal concepts[7].

Again, there are philosophers like Aydede and Guzeldere, who have propounded an information-theoretic analysis of the typical relation that phenomenal concepts hold with sensory concepts. Here, it is believed that we are bound to obtain sensory concepts from our experiences. These sensory concepts have a dual identity and they emanate into existence as phenomenal concepts when we exercise the same cognitive constructions in introspection.

One thing that must be acknowledged here is that all of those perspectives are intended to endorse some kind of physicalism. But that is not my purpose here. However, a successful account of the phenomenal concept must theorise an intimate connection between phenomenal states and the concepts that can be formulated out of them.

2.Phenomenal States and Communication

What does it mean by private language? Frankly speaking, private language often gets associated with emotion and sensation. But in what sense phenomenal states are private? According to Wittgenstein, only the subject of experience can be aware that s/ he is really in pain, others can only infer. These feelings cannot be expressed in ordinary language because words, that the speaker refers subjected to his/her immediate private sensations only. Hence, it is not conceivable objectively to postulate the meaning. We all are aware of the conceivability principle; if something is not conceivable then it is not logically possible. As we cannot adduce any objectively available meaning, it would be justified to claim such language is not possible. However, Wittgenstein settles down with the claim that private language is nothing more than gibberish. What makes private language incommunicable is that the connection between sensation words and whatever is going on outside the mind is contingent. The paradigm of private experience is not that each individual possesses his exemplar, but that nobody knows whether further subjects can also feel the same or not. Wittgenstein puts forward his disagreement largely through the consideration of "pain" as the subject's feeling or intrinsic experience. It is indisputable that every person has inner experience, but how do we convey our inner sensations or inner feelings? How that sensation can be revealed through something similar

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[7]7 Carruthers, Peter. "Phenomenal Concepts and Higher‑Order Experiences." *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 68, no. 2 (March 2004): 316–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1933-1592.2004.tb00343.x.

to language that is at the same time exclusively clutched by the language user himself rather than through the public language? Wittgenstein invites us to envisage a child who intends to describe his/her feeling of toothache and desires to name such a personal feeling but without the usual vocabulary. for example. Unfortunately, the word that the child uses to designate the toothache cannot be apprehended by anyone else. One might think that when the child clarifies to others about his/her utterance then others must comprehend the meaning of the new name for the tooth-ache. But that is also contingent and nothing could be ascertained in the given panorama. Therefore, naming is not fundamentally accomplishable in the sphere of private language, even if we agree to the prospect of the existence of private language for the sake of the given discussion. When one makes an effort to name a sensation, one just overlooks the fact that naming is just not labeling but it is a matter of epithet. Naming necessarily presupposes the premise that the act of naming makes sense objectively. When we talk about naming, we also presume the existence of the grammar. Imagine a situation where the subject term S designates an inner sensation that frequently repeats itself. S/He decides to put a mark in his phone calendar whenever it occurs. On closer scrutiny, it could be realised that formulation of any term is taking place in this scenario rather one can only stretch to a kind of ostensive definition. Therefore, Wittgenstein believes that we cannot name the sensation in the ordinary sense if we cannot give a clear definition referring to its use. However, we are left with the reality check that when we speak or write the term, we at the same time quintessence our attention on the sensation. I am able to make a connection between the term and the intrinsic feeling. But still, one cannot guarantee about measure of correctness in the context. Again, visualize someone, who has felt a particular sensation for the first time and names it "Ah". In the future, when he will again be acquainted with such a sensation, he will be using the same word. According to Wittgenstein, the whole process is meaningless.

Wittgenstein excluded the view that words possess special meanings that define how the world is. Instead, he propounds that words earn their meaning from how they are used in public discourse for given determinations. His employment of grammar depicts the specific rules that regulate the use of the given term. For him, sensations are not merely behaviours, rather they are contingently related to a separate world of private experience. He summoned the concept of *language games* to authenticate the idea that words are used always within the panorama of social performances with a particular motivation. A similar word can be used in different ways in some other language games. In his own words,

> the meaning of the utterance ''Slab!'' depends upon whether one is involved in the language game of naming an object (i.e., ''that is a 'slab''') or making a request (i.e., ''bring me the slab''). [8]

Wittgenstein emphasized that individual subjects of experience do not have any privilege in expressing internal states. He asserts that phenomenological terms do not necessarily assign to internal private mental states that are devoid of the perspectives of others. People do not learn to identify their feelings or emotions only by introspecting and then stipulating identifiers to their experience. However, without public standards, where people can refer to and confirm the accuracy of a given term, there would be no way to deduce whether or not the term has been employed appropriately. The celebrated illustration of a beetle in a box is a depiction of the above scenario:

[8] Wittgenstein, Ludwig. Philosophical Investigations. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968.

> Suppose everyone had a box with something in it: we call it a 'beetle'. No one can look into anyone else's box, and everyone says he knows what a beetle is only by looking at his beetle. – Here it would be quite possible for everyone to have something different in his box. One might even imagine such a thing constantly changing. – But suppose the word 'beetle' had a use in these people's language? – If so, it would not be used as the name of a thing. The thing in the box has no place in the language game at all; not even as a something: for the box might even be empty.[9]

Wittgenstein successfully figures out that natural phenomenological expressions (sensations, emotions, etc.) yield public standards for forming rules governing the use of phenomenological concepts in everyday speech. When a child knocks his/her feet at the corner of the table, s/he starts to scream or cry out and probably rubs the affected area. This public expression provides the standards for the construction of a grammar for the concept of pain. Thereupon, when a child exhibits pain behaviour, adults teach the child the particular language games that reveal the meaning of the term pain. In the above situation, the child might, instead of crying, say 'Ouch', or 'I am in pain'. In this way, phenomenological terms gain their meaning through public discourse and not through private introspection. According to Wittgenstein, once accomplished, expressions such as 'ouch' or 'I am in pain' function as substitutions for natural sensation responses. For Wittgenstein, phenomenological experience is immediate and interpretation of phenomenological experience in language also is possible, but only as a form of reflective activity and not as a course of private introspection.

What he denied is the possibility of private language only. For him, phenomenal states are available for interpersonal communication. Following Papineau, it can be said that we first name a sensation by turning our gaze inside. Then we observe the outside world what causes that sensation or the behaviour the sensation causes. Using analogy, we communicate with language about what we feel. We learn from the community. Here, we need to separate two notions, though they appear similar yet, fundamentally they are different. The subjective feeling of conscious experience is not identical to the expression of the subjective feeling of that very experience. What the subject feels about the experiential given object is private and Wittgenstein's argument is not intended to refute that. Rather, there is no dispute over the acceptance of intrinsic subjective feeling and the authority of the subject over it. What he is categorically trying to defy is the ineffability of phenomenological terms. His sense of phenomenological expression is not individualistic rather he emphasises communal subjectivity. Wittgenstein is a firm believer in the consensual *forms of life* of a community of language users. At this point, there is a great enticement among philosophers to settle down with a kind of deduction that phenomenological states are both epistemologically and metaphysically irrelevant and void. They are kind of empty terms or no terms at all. This paper strongly declares that this temptation should be repelled. The point I want to make is that Wittgenstein's negation of private language as the justification of the meaning of subjective feeling does not entail that these phenomena lack other cognitive value and are therefore irrelevant to philosophy.

Papineau also claims that we must be able to introspectively focus on the experiences when we have them and recreate them imaginatively at other times. So phenomenal concepts are demonstrative. We can form sentences with them and the structure will be like the experience: ___, Now the gap can be filled either with an occurrent token experience or the imaginative

[9] Ibid. P-537.

recreation of an experience. According to this demonstrative structure, the essence of the phenomenal concept is mental images.

3.Pure Phenomenal Concept

Mary looks at the red tomato and gets the experience (phenomenal) of colour. This experience gives rise to a phenomenal property, that in turn initiates the phenomenal concept of phenomenal redness R. There is no doubt in the fact that her experience is not red in the same way the tomato is red, but that does not mean there is nothing in the experience and whatever you get through inward perception is the external features only. Phenomenal redness (the feature of the subject's experience) and external redness (the feature of the external object) are different but both are respectable properties of their own. Consider the public-language expression 'red experience'. The reference of this term is connected via a relation to certain red objects in the external world, which is ostended in learning the public language term 'red'. A learner learns to address the experience that is initiated by this object, 'red' (phenomenal sense) and to designate the object, that typically brings out this experience 'red' (external sense). Here the phenomenal concept is relational. The relational phenomenal concept can be distinguished in two ways, depending on its way of reference fixation. Either it can be determined by the whole community of the subjects or it can be specified by the subject in question. The first can be called the *community relational concept or* red_c, which is typically caused in normal subjects within a community by red things only. The second can be regarded as the *individual relational concept or* red_I, which is caused in an individual by the red things. At first sight, it is natural to postulate that the two concepts red_C and red_I are identical, but this is only true for normal subjects. They may yield different results for a contingent circumstance. For example, the inverted subject's (red/green) concept of red_C refers to phenomenal redness (what the community calls), but its concept of red_I refers to phenomenal greenness (what the community calls). When seeing the tomato Mary can denote to the associated experience by saying 'that sort of experience', where the phenomenal concept gets expressed indexically as *E*. This demonstrative concept functions by picking out the particular feature that the subject is currently ostending. Like all other demonstratives, it fixes its reference by picking out the feature that is ostended. These three concepts red_C, red_I and *E* typically cite the same phenomenal concept that is phenomenal redness in terms of its connection via the object of ostension. According to Chalmers, there is another phenomenal concept[5] which is neither relational nor indexical, rather completely intrinsic, can be called a *pure phenomenal concept* or *R*. When Mary looks at the red for the first time, she gets to know what it is like to see red and that is essentially her subjective feeling. In a way that can be regarded as private also. The concept *R* is all the way different from red_C, red_I and *E*. We form the belief that $red_C = R$ that is this feature is caused in the community by red things and similarly, we are also inclined to postulate that $red_I = R$. However, we might also hold the belief that E = R by the denotation of the object. The relation between red_C, red_I and *E* on one hand and *R* on the other is not a priori, because the pure phenomenal concept is independent of them. Here one can reasonably ask how the phenomenal concept can ever be independent as such when it is initiated by an external object (at least in the case of Mary). To find out this answer first we need to understand that what we feel is not governed by the external world rigidly. My phenomenal concept of red is indeed about the external tomato but one can have the same experience in the absence of the object altogether. Even the same red can be felt differently in two subjects, which yields two different phenomenal concepts for them. Hence, we must accept that the *pure phenomenal concept* or *R* is strictly subject-specific.

3.1. Inverted Mary

Consider Inverted Mary, who is a physical–functional twin of the famous scientist Mary, but the only difference is that her colour spectrum is inverted. Like Mary, inverted Mary also gets aware of something new when she encounters the tomato for the first time. But there are obvious differences. Where Mary learns that tomato causes phenomenal redness or *R* (what we call), inverted Mary learns that tomato causes phenomenal greenness or *G* (what we call), though she is uttering it red. Now if we apply the previous concepts in this context, then we will find out that for Mary $red_C = R, red_I = R$ and $E = R$, but for Inverted Mary $red_C = G, red_I = G$ and $E = G$. Even if inverted Mary says, "Ah! Now I know what it is like to see red.", she possesses the concept of green, though her denotation is red. It all indicates one thing we cannot grasp what is inside by something that is quite external, such as the use of language. No matter how much effort we give to hold it there will always be something that will come out of the fist.

4. Final Remark and Reflecting Overview

It is almost like a slogan that communication is the key to living in society, be it verbal or non-nonverbal (behavioural). Apart from that we all need to express ourselves. If our feelings get hidden inside and never come to the surface that may hinder our overgrowth as human beings and in turn the whole species. Living in this world, we get acquainted with so many experiences every time that makes us realize the famous coinage "what it is like to have a particular experience". Philosophers, who have tried to refer to pure phenomenal concepts in other terms (indexical, relational, etc.) are not always against the phenomenal state. Rather what they want to criticise is the private subjective existence of phenomenal concepts. For them, something to be subject-specific does not mean that it is private. So, they have introduced the notion of interpersonal communication to grasp the inner through the outer.

I am also not against communication of what is there in the mind and I want to shout out loud in front of the world what is inside, but unfortunately, I cannot. Because I do not feel that the linguistic concepts are enough to do justice to the phenomenal concepts. First, in the case of inverted Mary, she even does not know she has a radically different phenomenal concept compared to the community. Then how could it be registered by the paradigms of language? Secondly, two subjects (normal) from the same community can have two different phenomenal concepts regarding the same object. Imagine the typical taste of bourbon whiskey, which according to some subjects is sweeter than regular whisky, while others find it completely normal, which makes them form different concepts around it. This point can be countered by the claim of "form of life", that is one is typically used to with a certain kind of taste, while the other is not. If we consider this claim, we cannot rule out completely the probability of different phenomenal experiences of the same object. Thirdly, the same subject may have different phenomenal experiences regarding an object with different intervals of time or context. For example, the typical homemade rice and lentils give us a completely different experience when it is consumed after a whole day of fasting, which in turn gives rise to a particular type of phenomenal concept. But for some other day, it might be experienced not so differently. Finally, our linguistic vocabulary is too short to grasp the phenomenal concepts. Imagine the use of the word 'happy', we refer to it to denote many different kinds of mental (phenomenal) states, hence concepts. Seeing the first rain we say "Ah! I am happy." We kind of express the same way with a good academic result or watching a favourite series or after having ice cream and so on. So, all we can say is that "I am happy." Does the linguistic concept 'happy' include all of them? If the

answer is yes, then it is an umbrella concept, whose members are infinite in number, which leads to infinite regress, hence cannot be a satisfactory position. But if the answer is negative, then the next task is to find out which phenomenal concepts subsume under it and why. This position does not make any sense because it looks like something is called by a name, that is not that. Phenomenal concepts are so associated with our daily lives that we all can introspectively conjecture that all those phenomenal experiences expressed by the word 'happy' are different from each other.

I am not insisting that we cannot ever express any phenomenal concepts by the medium of language. We can convey some phenomenal concepts, but not all. There are some feelings (in turn concepts) that originated with the social structure, for example, the feeling of shame. Still, it can get altered from person to person. It has a lot to do with how the person has evolved, his/her lived experiences, and the perspective s/he has embraced. Sometimes phenomenal concepts can indeed be identified with inter-personal concepts but not all. There will always remain some phenomenal concepts that are extremely private and matter of subjective identification only.

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